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The Gallerist as Publisher:
a critical history from 1900 to the present

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Volume I of II

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Allan Charles Madden

Abstract

This thesis presents a critical history of the gallerist as publisher from 1900 to the present. Through a series of case studies of gallerists and their publications, I chart the forms and functions that gallery publishing has taken over the last century and explore the key relationships and issues within this strand of publishing practice. Despite diversity in the content, publishing context, and means of producing these publications, I argue that the history of publishing by gallerists is characterised by the overarching themes of promotion, innovation, collaboration, and democratisation. I explore these themes across a chronological structure, focusing on selected examples of significant and sustained publishing activity led by gallerists from 1900 to the present day in Europe and North America.

Beginning in 1900 with the *livres d'artiste* of Ambroise Vollard and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler in Paris, I explore the reasons why gallerists were motivated to publish and how publishing became an essential facet of a gallerist's professional practice. I follow with case studies of publications by gallerists Jeanne Bucher, Aimé Maeght, Seth Siegelaub and David Zwirner. The five chapters of the thesis are structured in order to allow for both a thorough analysis of an individual publication or publishing series as well as an examination of the contemporary publishing context within which they were produced. In my selection of case studies, I analyse examples that demonstrate the various forms and functions of publishing produced by gallerists: the *livre d'artiste*; the artists' novel; the gallery magazine; the catalogue as exhibition; and books of art writing. Accompanying these individual case studies is a broader analysis of the ways in which gallerists both influenced and took inspiration from the wider context of art publishing.

Despite the wealth of research on the history of artists' books and magazines in the twentieth century, this thesis forms the first scholarly account of the impact of gallerist publishing on the development of modern and contemporary art publishing. I draw on existing research in the wider field of art publishing and combine it with interviews, archival material and personal accounts of the gallerists in order to re-evaluate the significance of gallerists and their publications in the history of art publishing. While I have consulted a number of archives and exhibitions over the course of this project, at the core of my research are the collections held by the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive and the thesis is intended, in large part, to reflect the nature of those collections.

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Introduction

Beyond the catalogue: gallerists and publishing as artistic practice in the twentieth century

The Gallerist as Publisher: A critical history from 1900 to the present is the first scholarly account of the history of gallerist publishing in the twentieth century. Over the last century, gallerists have produced publications that are as varied in their form and function as the artists and art movements that they have represented in their galleries. How, then can one construct a meaningful and useful narrative that includes publications as diverse as the lavishly illustrated *livre d'artiste Parallèlement*, published by Ambroise Vollard in 1900, and the catalogue-exhibition *Xerox Book*, published by Seth Siegelaub in 1968? Despite the vast differences in the form and function of their publications, it is possible to construct a history of the various means by which gallerists developed and sustained publishing practices alongside their primary role as art dealers that reflects on their ethos and the ideals of the artists and writers with whom they collaborated. A common thread that unites the disparate publishing practices of gallerists across Europe and North America in the last century is the ability of the publication to serve as a means of promoting both artists and gallerists. In this thesis, however, I argue that gallerist publishing in the last century often went far beyond publishing as promotion, to a practice wherein the gallerist was active collaborator in the creation and dissemination of works of art that took the form of publications. Another recurring theme in the history of the gallerist as publisher is a dedication to experimentation and innovation in the formal qualities of the publication. The use of new publishing and reproduction technology to disseminate published works far beyond the space of the gallery thus leads to a democratisation of the public experience of, and engagement with, art.

There will be no attempt to create an exhaustive list of the entirety of the publishing output of gallerists in the twentieth century; rather, I present a critical analysis of the key figures, themes and moments in the history of gallerist publishing. From these key case studies, the development of gallery publishing can be understood within its specific social and cultural context as well as within the larger history of the practice. My analysis of selected case studies in each chapter

serves to highlight these critical issues and themes alongside a contextualisation of gallerist publishing within the wider sphere of art publishing practices across the twentieth century.

In any selection of a small number of case studies, in this instance the six gallerist-publishers Vollard, Kahnweiler, Bucher, Maeght, Siegelau and Zwirner, there is the danger of the thesis itself acting as a means of canon formation. Such an approach risks reducing the variety of publishing activity by gallerists in the twentieth century to a simple, linear progression from the beginning of the century to the end, from Vollard to Zwirner. With this in mind, in this thesis I have attempted to balance the focus on individual gallerists and publications within a broader exploration of the publishing context and some of the most pertinent themes surrounding this area of publishing practice; namely the issues of promotion, innovation, collaboration and democratisation. While my analysis focuses on selected examples, I have hopefully made clear the broader publishing context and that this thesis should in no way be understood as an exhaustive account.

While the role of the art market is not central to my analysis in this thesis, it is nevertheless important to recognise that the publications that form the basis of these case studies were published in the art market centres of Paris and New York. When dealing with the central themes of artistic and technological innovation; the promotion of gallerists and artists; and the shift towards democratisation; it is important to recognise that the gallerist-publishers were operating within these art market centres. Examples such as the aforementioned *Parallèlement* (1900), and Siegelau's production of the *Xerox Book* (1968) as a catalogue-exhibition, should therefore be understood within the context of the Paris and New York art markets in which they were created and circulated. In this way, I aim to address the significance of the market indirectly through a focus on themes such as innovation and democratisation.

I have been careful to select examples of publications that demonstrate the diversity of publishing forms, materials and techniques that gallerists engaged with. In this study, therefore, I include examples of publications ranging from the *livre d'artiste*, the gallery magazine, the exhibition catalogue, and *ekphrastic* texts, among others, published by gallerists. Each chapter is also grounded in a specific moment in the history of art publishing, ensuring that the thesis will offer a meaningful historical account of how different art movements engaged with publishing practices from 1900 to the present.

Cataloguing the Catalogue: The Roland Penrose Collection

The thesis exists as a result of the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Collaborative Doctoral Partnership programme. As such, it was important from the beginning that my project reflect the important collections of art publishing held within the library and archive of my partner institution, the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh. The collaborative PhD was born out of the existing and longstanding relationship between the University of Edinburgh and the National Galleries of Scotland. The ARTIST ROOMS Research Partnership, in particular, formed the framework for the collaborative project. This research partnership was itself an outcome of the relationships between the National Galleries of Scotland, Tate and the former art dealer and publisher Anthony d'Offay.

My principal role within the Library and Archive of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, in the first stages of my research, was to catalogue an area of the Roland Penrose Collection. Specifically, I would catalogue the large number of exhibition catalogues collected by Penrose and now held within the collections of the National Galleries of Scotland. The experience of cataloguing such a vast array of publications produced by gallerists in the twentieth century was invaluable to my initial research and had a great effect on the formation of the thesis itself. It became clear through this cataloguing process that the most common form of publication produced by gallerists was the exhibition catalogue. Catalogues within the collection were grouped by artist and represented the publishing practices of gallerists from across Europe and North America, though there were some examples from further afield. There were, unsurprisingly, a wide variety of styles, sizes and formats for the catalogues. Slim volumes with lists of exhibited works sat alongside larger hardbacks, voluminous with high quality colour reproductions of artworks and extensive essays on artists. Working with such a collection also prompted me to focus on gallerists who had gone beyond the standard exhibition catalogue in their publishing practice to produce works of great significance in the history of art publishing.

As my research project progressed, I also had the opportunity to curate an exhibition of publications by the gallerist Jeanne Bucher, which I detail in the second chapter of this thesis. What is the purpose of practical experience in the research process? Is there any significant difference in the approach to gallerist publications taken by researchers, archivists and curators? The practical archival and curatorial experience that I received highlighted the importance of considering

the full lifecycle of the publication from the moment of its creation and the changes in its function as it circulates as an object to be collected privately and publicly. The afterlife of many of the historic gallerist publications mentioned in this thesis is in private collections and the archives of public institutions like the National Galleries of Scotland.

Writing a History of the Gallerist as Publisher

When writing a history of an entire field of art publishing, the initial research questions are necessarily broad, beginning with the first, and broadest: what did gallerists publish? The answer to this question was apparent after even a cursory exploration of the archival collections at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art and existing literature on twentieth-century art publishing. Gallerists published everything from slim, four-page exhibition catalogues that comprise only lists of artworks on display without illustrations, to beautifully-illustrated *livres d'artiste*; from magazines and newspapers, to artists' books and disparate other forms of publication. The following questions were then required to attain a grasp of the connections between an individual's practice as a gallerist and as a publisher: What motivates a gallerist to publish? What is the gallerist's role in the creation of the publication? What is the function of the publication? In what ways does their publishing oeuvre relate to or reflect an individual's practice as a gallerist? As my research progressed, the questions then became: What are the recurring themes, if any, across the strata of gallerist publishing? What do differences in approach, or to the form and function of the publication reveal about a specific moment in the wider history of art publishing?

The important questions, in terms of providing an extensive critical history are also: what issues do gallerist publications intersect with in the wider history of art publishing? How should one draw out these implications of gallerist publishing? A number of themes and critical issues emerged, offering a framework within which to analyse the selected examples of gallerist publishing. These overriding themes were: the publication as a means of promotion; the publication as a means of experimentation and innovation; the publication as collaborative artwork; and the publication as a means of democratisation. While these issues are, of course, still very broad, I chose to focus on specific publications produced by selected gallerists to allow for a detailed analysis of the critical questions most germane to each publication and each historical moment.

The following five chapters identify and analyse key themes and questions related to the various forms of gallerist publishing from 1900 to the present. Each chapter focuses on a specific gallerist and publication, or in some cases a specific series of publications, in order to answer the central research question of each. Each of the chapters has a different contextual and thematic focus although there are points of convergence between the figures and themes dealt with in each. Chapters are presented in largely chronological order, although again there are crossovers between the regions and periods covered. Some chapters necessarily have a broader chronological scope depending on the nature of the publication and the gallerist's career. For example, in Chapter Four, I consider both the original publication, the *Xerox Book* (1968), and contemporary recreations of it within my case study. The purpose of each chapter is to analyse a specific work by a gallerist in order to determine the impact and legacy of this form of publishing within the wider history of art publishing in the twentieth century. No publication discussed in these chapters is produced in a vacuum and so it is also necessary, when writing this history, to examine these publications within the broader social and cultural context in which they were created.

The first chapters of the thesis are concerned primarily with ideas of innovation and experimentation in the publication. The opening chapter examines the publishing activities of the Parisian gallerists Ambroise Vollard and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler at the beginning of the twentieth century. In seeking to establish how publishing became established as a form of activity by commercial galleries in the last century, the central research questions here are: why did these gallerists choose to engage in publishing alongside their primary business as art dealers? What benefits did publishing offer the gallerist? Was publishing part of a larger strategy to promote certain artists and writers? I argue that publishing luxuriously illustrated *livres d'artiste* by contemporary artists and poets, afforded the gallerists an unprecedented opportunity to establish and disseminate a recognisable brand of excellence. Given the publishing context of Paris in the early decades of the twentieth century, I also argue that contemporary publishing, and the advances in printing technology that saw an explosion of periodicals, prints and posters, meant that publishing became an unavoidable promotional activity for anyone in the art trade. The promotional possibilities inherent in this form of publishing do not supplant the gallerists' fervent belief and dedication to the artists and movements that they represented. This dedication translates to the form of the publication,

demonstrated by the great care in choice of artist, writer, typography and printing processes resulting in a beautiful *mise-en-page*.

The second chapter builds on this broader focus on innovation and the creation of the publication by considering what role the gallerist played in the collaborative relationship between artist and poet. In this chapter, I analyse the publishing oeuvre of Jeanne Bucher as emblematic of Surrealist collaboration. The central questions of this chapter are: what is the nature of the collaborative relationship at the heart of these books? What role does Bucher play within that collaboration? In my analysis of Bucher's publishing, I specifically focus on Max Ernst's collage-novel *Une semaine de bonté* (1934) to evaluate Bucher's contribution to the history of the artist's book. What are the links between the content of *Une semaine de bonté* and the collage process of the book's creation? What role does publishing play in the completion of the work? How was the work marketed and disseminated? In this chapter, I also include an account of my experience of curating an exhibition of Bucher's publications at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art and my approach to foregrounding Bucher's role as a female publisher within the predominantly male collaborative relationships that characterised Surrealist publishing practices.

In the second half of the thesis I consider the broader theme of democratisation as a publishing strategy of gallerists after the Second World War. In Chapter Three, I focus on Aimé Maeght's long-running magazine *Derrière le miroir* (1946 – 1982) and ask to what extent can a publication produced by a gallerist represent a democratisation of art? I examine the magazine within the context of André Malraux's notion of the *musée imaginaire* to assess its democratic potential. I focus particularly on the ideas of seriality and collectability inherent in the magazine format as a means of evaluating the effects of the magazine in mediating the relationship between the artist, the gallery and the reader. I contextualise my analysis of Maeght's magazine within the wider history of the gallery magazine in the twentieth century. Here, my question returns to the motivation of gallerists to engage with the format of the magazine. Why did the magazine prove useful to gallerists? What can one determine about the gallerist's practice as a dealer and representative of artists from the pages of their gallery magazines? In this section I consider not only the democratic potential of such publications but also their function as promotional tools for the gallerist.

The fourth chapter continues this exploration of the democratic function of the publication by examining to what extent the publication can act as an

alternative means of displaying and distributing art directly to the public. In my analysis, I focus on the catalogue-publications, particularly the *Xerox Book* (1968), published by the New York dealer Seth Siegelaub. The questions posed by Siegelaub's publications are: to what extent can the publication offer an alternative space for the display and dissemination of art? What are the formal qualities of the catalogue-exhibition and are they necessary to the display of the art contained within? How does the form of the catalogue-exhibition democratise the process of engaging with and collecting art? I consider Siegelaub's catalogue-exhibitions alongside the wider issues of contestation and dematerialisation in Conceptual art practice in the 1960s. Such practices saw a shift away from the traditional space of the gallery and institutions of art and towards alternative means of display at the same time as artists' magazines offered a viable alternative mode of distribution.

In the final chapter of the thesis I end my exploration of democratisation through publishing by considering the role of art writing within the contemporary gallery publication. The primary case study is David Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series of books, published from 2016 onwards. In this chapter I ask what does the promotion of *ekphrasis*, as a rhetorical device, suggest about the practice of the contemporary gallerist? To what extent does *ekphrastic* writing make public engagement with art more accessible than other forms of critical writing? What do specific *ekphrastic* texts in the series suggest about Zwirner's approach to publishing and about the place of art writing within the contemporary gallery publication? Alongside my analysis of Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series, I consider wider rhetorical strategies within the contemporary exhibition catalogue. The purpose of this chapter is to discern the limits of critical engagement offered in art writing in the contemporary gallery publication as well as establishing how contemporary gallerist publishers approach new, creative forms of responding to visual art through text.

The research questions of each chapter are designed not only to examine the central issues at the heart of each specific publication and publishing context but are also intended to complement, and follow on from, each other. The aim of this structure being for the thesis to stand as both a cohesive, critical analysis of individual gallerists as publishers as well as a history of the field. The context within which each publication is considered, therefore, reflects the wider publishing field and the comparisons and juxtapositions that are likely to produce the most useful answers to the central questions. Taken together, each chapter will

cover the themes of promotion, innovation, collaboration and democratisation within the twentieth-century gallerist publication.

In order to prevent the thesis from becoming unwieldy and unhelpful in forming a critical analysis of gallerist publishing, I chose to present my research in the form of case studies accompanied by a specific contextual framing. I have, in the main, avoided examining cost indexes and sales records to determine the profits made by gallerists on their publishing as my research is not concerned with how publishing financially benefitted gallerists either directly, in terms of sales of publications, or indirectly in terms of the sale of other artworks associated with the publication. Instead my focus has been on the significant contribution made by gallerist publishers, in terms of their publications, to the wider history of the twentieth-century art book.

This thesis sits within the wider research context of art publishing in the twentieth century that includes related but distinct scholarship on the history of the *livre d'artiste*; the history and theory of artists' books and magazines; personal and professional relationships between artists, poets and gallerists; advances in printing technology; and the rise of both the popular press and alternative modes of distributing publications over the course of the twentieth century. While the focus here is to present a detailed account of selected publications by gallerists, I am also careful to historicise the overlapping narratives of gallerist publishing in Europe and North America in the twentieth century. In this regard, throughout the thesis I draw from a wealth of existing literature on the broad history of artists' books and magazines and the work of art historians and theorists such as Johanna Drucker, Riva Castleman, Clive Phillpot, Elza Adamowicz and Lucy Lippard. The overall structure of this thesis was influenced greatly by Kathryn Brown's edited volume *The Art Book Tradition in Twentieth-Century Europe*, in its use of selected case studies to ensure thorough analysis of specific, significant works while also covering a broad chronological and geographic scope.¹ This structure also allows for the multiplicity of forms and functions of gallerist publication to be analysed. In her research on the history of the artist's magazine, Gwen Allen also sets out a series of case studies that exemplify the key issues at stake in the historical engagement of artists with the form of the magazine.² As with many accounts of the

¹ Kathryn Brown (ed.), *The Art Book Tradition in Twentieth-Century Europe*, (Farnham, 2013)

² Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art*, (Cambridge Massachusetts,, 2011)

history of artists' books, however, Allen's focus is on magazines produced from the late 1960s onwards. More recently, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, published in three volumes in 2013, represents a longer history of artists and the magazine across Europe and North America and proved invaluable in both its focus on key titles while also expanding on the broader context of the popular press.³ This existing research, therefore, was influential not only in terms of illuminating the work already done on the history of art publishing in the twentieth century but also in instructing how such broad themes can be handled with scholarly rigour.

Lucy Lippard, who was a practitioner in the Conceptual art movement in New York in the 1960s and 1970s as well as a theorist of artists' books, is as valuable a voice as the artists discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.⁴ Seth Siegelaub, fortunately, gave a number of interviews at the time of publishing the *Xerox Book* and his other catalogue-exhibition projects and indeed throughout his varied career, in which he revisits the intentions behind his publishing projects and the function of the publication as an alternative means of displaying and distributing dematerialised art. I chose to supplement this existing historical information by making contact with contemporary book artists who have taken Siegelaub's publications as the point of departure for their own artists' books. My intention here, as in other chapters of this thesis, was to combine an understanding and analysis of the contemporary publishing context within which these publications were produced alongside an evaluation of their art historical legacy. In terms of the contemporary gallery publication, I was keen to examine the nature of the present relationships between art and writing that is being fostered and disseminated by gallerists. I was fortunate enough to secure an interview with Lucas Zwirner, editorial director of David Zwirner Books, so that I might gain insight into the intentions of the publisher as well as the resulting impact of the series of publications. Gallerists have often published their own memoirs or histories of their galleries, which provide invaluable insight into their publishing ethos. Both Ambroise Vollard and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler published memoirs and those historic galleries discussed here that are still extant, such as those managed by the Bucher and Maeght families, have also published useful accounts of

³ In particular, see Peter Brooker, Sascha Bru, Andrew Thacker and Christian Weikop (eds.), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, Vol.3, (Oxford, 2013)

⁴ In particular, see Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972*, (Berkeley, 2007)

the gallery history that incorporate the gallerists' life and work, with a particular focus on the relationships that they forged with their respective artists.⁵ Again, I was fortunate to make contact with the Jaeger family, great-grandchildren of Jeanne Bucher and current co-directors of Galerie Jeanne Bucher Jaeger, to put her legacy as a publisher as well as gallerist in context.

Any study of a field of publishing with a broad chronological and geographic scope necessitates the exclusion of a great many interesting publishers and publications. Throughout twentieth-century art history the gallerist is a powerful, and often colourful, figure. As the gallery is one of the principal forums of the art market and of public engagement with visual art, the gallerist acts as a mediator between artists, critics, collectors and the public. A number of prominent gallerists across the twentieth century, whose work established the careers and success of artists and art movements are not considered here or are considered only briefly as context. Leo Castelli, Betty Parsons, Peggy Guggenheim, Arne Glimcher, Ernst Beyeler, Julien Levy, Paul Cassirer, Iris Clert; all are examples of gallerists who greatly influenced the creation and reception of modern and contemporary art. The reason for their exclusion is in no way related to their influence in terms of staging landmark exhibitions and promoting their stable of artists successfully. Rather, the gallerists selected here were primarily chosen on the basis of their publishing output. Care, however, was also taken to incorporate the publications of gallerists held within, and reflective of, the collections of the National Galleries of Scotland.

⁵ See for instance Yoyo Maeght, *The Maeght Family: A Passion for Modern Art*, (New York, 2007) or *Jeanne Bucher: Une galerie d'avant-garde 1925 – 1946*, [exh. cat.], (Strasbourg and Geneva, 1994)

Chapter One

The Gallerist as Promoter: Kahnweiler, Vollard and the publication as brand in the context of Parisian print culture, 1900 – 1939

At the time of his death in July 1939, the renowned art dealer and publisher, Ambroise Vollard left twenty-four publishing projects in various stages of completion. Since his first foray into the world of publishing finely illustrated books in 1900, with Verlaine's *Parallèlement*, he had published twenty-seven *livres d'artiste* as well as numerous print editions. His status as one of the preeminent gallerists of the early twentieth century had been secured early in his career with his promotion of the works of Cézanne, Renoir, Gauguin and Picasso among others. His contemporary, fellow Paris dealer and publisher, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler was interested in the work of many of the same artists as Vollard and displayed an equal zeal in the realm of publishing finely crafted books. Kahnweiler's staunch support of Picasso and Braque in the early days of Cubism also served to secure his reputation as one of the foremost dealers of the early twentieth century. Both dealers produced memoirs of a sort: Vollard's *Recollections of a Picture Dealer* (1936) and Kahnweiler's conversations with Francis Crémieux, published under the title *My Galleries and Painters* (1961), which outline their ethos and approach to operating their galleries and working with their chosen artists. The finely illustrated books that characterise the publishing output of these dealers combine the writing of poets such as Verlaine, Apollinaire and Jacob with the visual work of Bonnard, Rouault and Picasso. These collaborative publishing projects resulted in the production of beautifully crafted books which stand as artworks in their own right. It is immediately apparent when considering the wealth and breadth of their publishing efforts that no investigation into the history of the form and function of the gallery publication and the gallerists who published them, can afford to overlook the foundational importance of Vollard and Kahnweiler.

The great esteem in which their publications are held today can, however, obscure the initial decision both men took when assuming the role of publisher alongside that of gallerist. What motivated Vollard and Kahnweiler to publish books with the artists that they represented in their gallery? How did each gallerist

engage with the selecting of poets and artists? What were the factors that determined the formal qualities of the books? What can we discern from analysing the books about their ethos as gallerists? What are the implications of establishing concurrent publishing activities for their role as gallerists? I answer these questions by analysing the function of the *livre d'artiste* as a signifier of quality, luxury and modernity, and thus, a book object that performs the function of proclaiming the gallerists' brand. I argue that by establishing a recognisable publishing imprint, and a consistently innovative approach to the *livre d'artiste*, both men used the publication as a means of promoting their ethos and business as gallerists as well as promoting the artists and poets who collaborated on each book. Given the obvious benefits to any business of expanding their market by diversifying their stock, I am not concerned with the financial motivations of establishing their brand as gallerists by publishing and selling books, although this is, of course, an undoubted motivator. Rather, I am more concerned with the means by which the publication acted as representation of the gallery and the gallerist. What can we tell from the books themselves about how the gallerists wished to be perceived and how did the books represent the gallerists in the world?

In the first section of this chapter I focus on the material qualities of the books, the choice of artists and poets and the *mise-en-page*, and their importance in establishing the publishers' output. The setting-off point of this section of the chapter will be the first editions produced by both Vollard and Kahnweiler: *Parallèlement* (1900), published by Vollard in collaboration with Pierre Bonnard; and *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* (1909) published by Kahnweiler in collaboration with Guillaume Apollinaire and André Derain. I set out the nature and form of these publications and their contribution to the genre of the illustrated book as well as the background to their publication and the respective approaches to publishing taken by each of the gallerists. I then explore the ways in which, following their first published editions, both Vollard and Kahnweiler solidified their brand by engaging in a sustained practice of publishing throughout the remainder of their careers as gallerists. In this section the similarities and differences in approach to their respective publishing output will be examined alongside the wider relationships and concerns that characterised book publishing at this time; I shall focus particularly on their management of relationships between authors, artists, printers, typographers and engravers.

The context in which the books of these dealers were published was Paris in the first decades of the twentieth century, where publishing was often a means

of fostering interaction and collaboration between artists and poets. One can achieve a better understanding of the books produced by both Vollard and Kahnweiler by exploring the nature of the early twentieth-century French arts publication as a forum for the simultaneous display of the work of writers and artists. What elements of recent historical book publishing were Kahnweiler and Vollard drawing from? In what way did their publishing engage with advances in print technology at the time? In answering this point, I consider notable examples of illustrated book projects in the late nineteenth century that were precursors to twentieth-century innovations in the genre. I argue, however, that the contemporary popular press had a more immediate effect on the publishing endeavours of both men. Thus, I examine the nature of arts periodicals, print albums and the wider social and professional interactions and projects between artists, poets and publishers to determine the extent to which the contemporary popular press acted as a motivating factor in the gallerists' decision to publish illustrated books. I suggest that the predominance of contemporary prints produced using advances in reproduction technology were also a key factor in the gallerists choosing to become publishers.

I: Setting the Page, Making a Mark: *Parallèlement* (1900), *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* (1909) and the book as brand of quality and modernity

I.I: *Parallèlement* (1900):

In his memoirs, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer*, Ambroise Vollard describes the moment when, on the quays by the Seine, he first felt the desire to become a publisher of books:

Strolling along the quays, I dipped one day into the books in a second-hand dealer's box. On the title-page of a fine octavo I read: *Ambroise Firmin-Didot, éditeur*. "*Ambroise Vollard, éditeur* ... that wouldn't look bad either," I thought. Little by little the idea of becoming a publisher, a great publisher of books, took root in my mind. I could not see a fine sheet of paper without thinking: "How well type would look on it!" Soon my only remaining hesitation was whether to publish prose or verse.¹

By Vollard's account, it is a chance encounter with one of the works of the long-celebrated family of French publishers, the Didots, which resulted in the beginnings of a publishing practice that would see the creation of some of the finest interplays of text and image of the twentieth century. What is striking is that it is the idea of his own publisher's mark, '*Ambroise Vollard, éditeur*', that is the decisive image for Vollard. Like Vollard, Kahnweiler would also come to establish an imprint and his own publisher's mark in the form of a woodcut by André Derain. Throughout his career as publisher, despite the adverse changes in his professional circumstances, including a necessary change of name of his publisher's imprint, the Derain publisher's mark remained. Stamped as a seal of approval, from his first book to his last, it became a recognisable symbol of the beautiful book and of Kahnweiler himself. I argue that the *livre d'artiste*, as a luxury object that was circulated and distributed beyond the space of the gallery offered a perfect opportunity for both men to associate themselves, and their galleries, with the properties of the beautiful book. By examining the first editions published by each of the gallerists, and exploring what the properties of these books were, I will identify the means by which the publication represented their business and ethos as gallerists.

On 29 September 1900, Vollard published his first book, *Parallèlement*, a collection of poetry by Verlaine, which had been first published, without

¹ Ambroise Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer*, (New York, 1978) p.251

illustration, in 1889. With lithographs supplied by Bonnard, Vollard's edition of *Parallèlement* owes much to both its precursors in the field of illustrated books as well as the wider relationships between artists and poets in publishing at the time. In *Recollections of a Picture Dealer*, Vollard recounts the process whereby he chose which author he wished to publish first and whether he should devote his time towards the publication of poetry or prose. Just as with his initial compulsion to publish books, he suggests that much was left to chance. He writes that his decision to publish poetry arose following a visit to the Imprimerie Nationale on the rue Vieille-du-Temple with a friend who wanted to see the celebrated decorations of the Salle des Singes:

While he was studying every detail of that celebrated decoration, I had opened a book published by the Institution, and was admiring a page printed in Garamond, that magnificent type engraved by order of Francis I, the italics of which seemed to me expressly designed to print the work of a poet.²

With the visual stimulation of the Garamond type, Vollard's mind had been made up to publish poetry. The question of which poet to publish was also, according to Vollard, subject to a chance encounter. One day, while on the omnibus, Vollard found himself sitting next to a shabbily dressed stranger. When overhearing that the poorly-attired passenger was in fact Verlaine and that he was regarded as a poet of similar ability to Mallarmé, Vollard decides to seek out the work of both celebrated men: 'I had thus a warrant that Mallarmé and Verlaine were the two greatest contemporary poets'.³ Finding himself 'insensible' to Mallarmé's *Don du Poème*, he settled on Verlaine's *Parallèlement* which was closer to his ideas of poetry: 'It seemed to me exactly what I wanted.'⁴ Some have argued that Vollard's selection of Verlaine's text as the basis for his first publishing venture had more to do with his hearing of Verlaine's death in 1896, furthering the possibility that any reproduction of the late poet's work would be a commercial success.⁵ While in his memoirs, Vollard is keen to stress the chance encounters that set him on his publishing path, I suggest that it was his business experience as a dealer that led him to capitalise on the recent death of the poet, just as he had previously seen the

² Ibid. p.252

³ Ibid. p.252

⁴ Ibid. p.252

⁵ Sasha M. Newman, 'Nudes and Landscapes', in *Pierre Bonnard, The Graphic Art*, (exh. cat.), (New York, 1989) p.162

promotional potential of establishing his own publishing imprint.

The collection of poems, *Parallèlement*, dealt with the parallels that Verlaine saw as existing within human nature and emotion: the spiritual and the sensual; the sacred and the profane. The collection was structured in four parts: 'Les Amies' featured six sonnets on the theme of lesbianism that he had originally written in 1867; the second section was titled 'Filles' and dealt with prostitution and the brothel; part three was titled 'Révérence de parler'; and the final section was titled 'Lunes' and featured poems on the subject of normal and abnormal desire.⁶ Verlaine was well aware of the controversial nature of the work and the response that it would cause. In a letter to his editor, Vanier, in 1888, Verlaine described the nature of the proposed book: 'I'll be publishing in a few months a book entitled *Parallèlement*, of an extreme and as it were ingenuous sensuality, which will be a contrast to the very severe Catholic mysticism of *Sagesse* and of another volume, *Amour*.'⁷ It was the six sonnets on the theme of lesbian love in particular that led to difficulties with L'Imprimerie Nationale later.

If Vollard's motivations for publishing Verlaine were not entirely commercial and instead were true to his own account, it suggests, as Una Johnson has written, that his publishing choices were more the result of 'a caprice rather than critical judgement'.⁸ Johnson argues that this is because Vollard was not literary minded and his priorities lay elsewhere: 'The author's work was, to Vollard, always secondary, and it is significant that once the artist started work Vollard never interfered with his interpretation.'⁹ Johnson's account takes Vollard at his word and suggests that there was little strategy in his publishing endeavours. I suggest, however, that his decision not to interfere with his artists' interpretation is more likely a sign of his confidence in the artists that he represented than an indicator of his lack of concern for the choice of text. The choice to publish verse over prose was itself based on the visual appearance of the Garamond type and what Vollard regarded as its suitability for publishing poetry. There were then, clear aesthetic reasons for his choice of texts. The poetic form also had the benefit of being more contained in length and separated into stanzas, which would come to offer more opportunity for interplay between text and image, another key concern for Vollard.

⁶ Ibid. p.162

⁷ Paul Verlaine, quoted in Newman, 1989 p.162

⁸ Una Johnson, *Ambroise Vollard, Editeur: Prints, Books, Bronzes*, (New York, 1977) p.23

⁹ Ibid. p.23

Having selected his author, Vollard now set about choosing which artist would provide the accompanying illustrations. While his own laconic ‘recollections’ in this case suggest that he had first approached Bonnard he had in fact initially asked Lucien Pissarro to illustrate the text with woodcuts.¹⁰ Pissarro was advised by his father Camille, who had worked with Vollard previously, against the move, resulting in Vollard commissioning Bonnard to carry out the illustrations in lithography. Bonnard’s first drawings for the book, which show a number of differences from the final versions, were done on typeset proofs of the text dating between 24 March and 13 April 1897. The work took Bonnard two years and at the time of its publication in 1900, *Parallèlement* included 110 lithographs, including a supplementary frontispiece, all in colour and eight ornamental woodcuts.¹¹

The success of a finely illustrated book is measured in terms of the interrelationships between its multiple elements: text; typography; image; printing; paper; and binding. The most striking visual aspect of Vollard’s *Parallèlement* lies in the nature of these relationships, particularly that between Verlaine’s text, its typography and Bonnard’s lithographs. In *Parallèlement*, Vollard had published a book with an approach to the *mise-en-page* that combines the classically printed text, in Garamond type, with freehand, expressive drawings that extend beyond the margins and encircle the titles and stanzas of the poems (fig.1). Bonnard’s lithographs are allowed to flow freely around Verlaine’s text, interacting with it in a manner that owes much to Toulouse-Lautrec’s lithographs for *Yvette Guilbert*.¹² The comparison is even more evident when one considers that, like the publisher André Marty, Vollard took advantage of advances in colour lithography to have Bonnard’s lithographs printed in rose-sanguine ink. The colour choice evokes the sensuality of the subject matter of the illustrations and poems without being explicitly related to either. The type was set first, allowing Bonnard to sketch his drawings around the printed proofs. The drawings were then transferred onto the lithographic stone. It is this use of the lithographic process that led to the finished works appearing

¹⁰ Ibid p.24

¹¹ *Parallèlement* was published in an edition of over 200: 10 books were numbered 1-10 and were printed on China paper, with a supplementary suite of prints; a further 20 were numbered 11-30 and were also printed on China paper; 170 were numbered 31-200 and printed on Holland paper; and finally one or more were produced *hors commerce*, for the benefit of the publisher, printer etc. Vollard’s chosen typography, as expected following his epiphany at the Imprimerie Nationale, was Garamond. The eight woodcuts were cut by Tony Beltrand, the lithographs were printed by Auguste Clot and the text was printed by L’Imprimerie Nationale.

¹² Discussed in the final section of this chapter.

sketch-like and in stark contrast to the elegant typeface. On the nature of the relationship between image and text, Phillip Dennis Cate writes: 'The text itself is visually deemphasised and superimposed onto the page somewhat in the manner of subtitles on a film. Bonnard's lithographs challenge the literary primacy of text over image.'¹³

To better demonstrate the effect of using the Garamond typeface juxtaposed with Bonnard's lithographs, it is useful to look to an example of another book, published in the same year as *Parallèlement*. Anatole Claudin's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France au XV et au XVI Siècle* was also published by the Imprimerie Nationale under the direction of Arthur Christian and had also used the Garamond typeface (fig.2). The foreword of the book states its purpose:

In printing this book, our National Institution's main purpose is to offer bibliophiles the most curious and least-known specimens of essentially French typography and to establish the pre-eminence of our artists by the influence they exerted in their work, emulated by neighbouring nations when the art of Gutenberg spread during the Renaissance period.¹⁴

Naturally, given the purpose of the book, the focus was on the typefaces used in its production. As John Lewis writes: 'This was printing in the grand manner, not seen in France since the times of Barbou and Didot. Typographically traditional, the book was set in large sizes of Garamond and Grandjean typefaces; the folio pages had ample margins and impeccable presswork.'¹⁵ The *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France* also demonstrates the means by which the content and composition of the book, in this instance bearing the seal of the Imprimerie Nationale, could be used to represent the ethos of the publishing house. The manner of its creation and its appearance, combined with the printer's mark, operated as a stand in for the company itself. *Parallèlement* would be the equivalent for Vollard.

As the foreword made clear, Claudin's book was an attempt to redress an imbalance witnessed in French book production that had seen more attention paid to illustration than the choice of typeface. The wide margins and presswork, as

¹³ Phillip Dennis Cate, *Prints Abound: Paris in the 1890s*, (Washington, D.C. 2000) p.34

¹⁴ ['En imprimant cet ouvrage, notre Établissement national a surtout pour but d'offrir aux bibliophiles les spécimens les plus curieux et les moins connus de la typographie essentiellement française et d'établir la prééminence de nos artistes par l'influence qu'ils exèrcent sur leurs émules des nations voisines lorsque se propagaient l'art de Gutenberg à l'époque de la Renaissance.'] Anatole Claudin, foreword, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France au XV et au XVI Siècle*, (Paris, 1900)

¹⁵ John Lewis, *The Twentieth Century Book: Its Illustration and Design*, (London: 1967) p.37

noted by Lewis, were intended to showcase the beauty of the type. Vollard's *Parallèlement* boasts the same type, the same wide margins and the same impeccable presswork but Vollard has irrefutably shifted the focus of attention back to illustration in his book by using the wide margins as merely the starting point for Bonnard's free-flowing lithographs that dominate the entire page structure. It is this clear prioritisation of illustration over text that leads Lewis to class *Parallèlement* as an *édition de luxe* as opposed to a *livre d'artiste*. By Lewis's definition, an *édition de luxe* is a book in which 'every other feature was subordinated to the illustration.'¹⁶ While Vollard evidently chose the Garamond typeface with great care there is no doubt that the text is not the primary focus of the book. That the relationship between the two is imbalanced becomes clearer when examining the works that Kahnweiler would publish less than a decade later.

Vollard employed the same approach to *Parallèlement* as he had towards his earlier print albums; eschewing a professional illustrator in order to use the talent of a painter-printmaker. The result is that the lithographs do not perform a purely illustrative function and do not refer directly to scenes described in Verlaine's poems; they are interpretive rather than descriptive. In the case of the poem 'Lombes', Verlaine describes the apparition of two beautiful women, one blonde with blue eyes, the other dark. Above the text, the faces of two women are sketched with their forms indistinct and obscured, one blending into another, creating the impression of an oneiric vision (fig.3). Without the restriction of providing a literal interpretation of each poem, Bonnard was free to supply lithographic images that were rooted in the concerns of contemporary Paris, just as the themes of Verlaine's poems were as applicable to modern life as much as their ostensibly classical subject matter. For this reason, the nude figures that adorn the pages had a distinctly contemporary air, and their placement alongside a poem on the ancient poet Sappho was deliberately provocative (fig.4). The lithographs, therefore, skirted the realms of contemporary decency that allowed for allegorical and classical nudes and were, as Dennis Cate writes, 'very much akin to the many humorous sex-laden journal illustrations of the time [...] which were constantly under attack by the self-proclaimed censor of the Third Republic, René Bérenger and his League against Licentiousness in the Street.'¹⁷

¹⁶ Ibid. p.37

¹⁷ Dennis Cate, 2000 p.35-36

The Imprimerie Nationale, responsible for printing Verlaine's text, had originally believed that the work was on the subject of geometry. They were horrified when they came to appreciate the true nature of the work, specifically the six sonnets on the theme of lesbianism and demanded that Vollard should return the books to the presses in order for the official stamp of the Imprimerie to be removed.¹⁸ The actions of the Imprimerie again highlight the visual impact and evocative power of the official stamp or imprint within the book as representative of the company. That they wished to remove all associations of their company from the book, associates the work ever more closely with Vollard's own publisher's mark and, thus Vollard himself. The actions of L'Imprimerie Nationale were later parodied by Vollard, Bonnard and Jarry in the *Almanach illustré du Père Ubu* (1901), which featured lithographs of the hapless Ubu, in this instance a stand-in for the French state, discovering to his surprise the true nature of *Parallèlement*.

The lithographic cartoon, though crude, and designed to mock the backward-looking attitude of the Imprimerie nevertheless makes an important point. Not only did the apparatus of the French state most closely linked to printing excellence fail to appreciate *Parallèlement* as having set a new standard in the quality of the modern illustrated book, but also that Vollard and his compatriots were knowingly and gleefully challenging the limits of accepted practice in arts publishing at this time. In the tradition of *poésie critique*, the symbolist poet Alfred Jarry reviewed *Parallèlement* for *La Revue blanche*, in an article published in 1901 in which he wrote that there had never been a more perfect union of text and illustration than in *Parallèlement*.¹⁹ Jarry's effusive praise for the book is indicative of its reception within avant-garde circles. The book, therefore, acted as a signal for Vollard's self-positioning at the forefront of contemporary art market.

¹⁸ Vollard, 1978 p.253

¹⁹ Newman, 1989 p.163

I.II: *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* (1909):

By the time Kahnweiler came to publish his first illustrated book in 1909, Vollard had already established his reputation within the field. Kahnweiler had opened his gallery in 1907 with neither the experience of dealing in art nor with any friends or contacts that were dealers, collectors or artists.²⁰ At this time, Kahnweiler noted that the centre of the commercial gallery world in Paris, which had once centred around the rue Le Peletier and rue Laffitte, had shifted to the much more central neighbourhood of the Madeleine.²¹ It is in this area, recently populated by a number of galleries, that Kahnweiler set up shop, at number 28 rue Vignon. Kahnweiler had immediately become interested in the work of the artists favoured by Vollard, such as Derain, Vlaminck and Picasso.²² Indeed Kahnweiler and Vollard purchased work by the same artists for many years, coming into professional contact while avoiding conflict.²³ Despite his lack of experience within the realm of art dealing, Kahnweiler was aware of the kind of art dealer he wished to be, stating: 'I wanted to be an art dealer who would offer for public admiration, [...], painters whom the public did not know at all, and for whom it would be necessary to clear the way.'²⁴ Kahnweiler's ideals for his practice as a gallerist would also come to characterise his outlook towards publishing illustrated books.

While Vollard had turned his attention to publishing classical texts often by long-dead authors, designed as luxury items for the bibliophile market, Kahnweiler preferred to offer contemporary writers within his social circle an opportunity to have their works published for the first time. Thus, as a dealer and as a publisher, he was committed to presenting to the public new and challenging work by young artists and writers. In his conversations with Francis Crémieux, Kahnweiler described the atmosphere in Paris around the time he decided to publish the works of his contemporaries and friends:

²⁰ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and Francis Crémieux, *My Galleries and Painters*, (London, 1971) p.35

²¹ Ibid. p.34

²² Malcolm Gee, *Dealers, Critics, and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market Between 1910 and 1930*, (New York and London, 1981) p.215

²³ Ibid. p.215

²⁴ Kahnweiler and Crémieux, 1971 p.30

You must understand that we lived in an atmosphere of euphoria, youth and enthusiasm that can hardly be imagined today. The work of the poets, Apollinaire and Max at that time (Reverdy didn't come until later), was very important in our lives: My wife knew the "Chanson du mal aimé" by heart, all of it, and so did I. Besides, these poets had no publisher at that time. So it occurred to me to publish editions of these poets, illustrated by their painter friends. The admirable editions of Vollard were all new editions of old texts, whereas I always published first editions, generally of writers who had never been published before.²⁵

Crémieux points out that Kahnweiler's practice of producing editions of no more than one hundred would do little to help circulate the poetry of his friends. Kahnweiler nevertheless was explicit about his desire to raise the profile of these young and largely un-published authors. He intended that his publications would lend poets such as Apollinaire or Max Jacob exposure that would in turn attract the interest of publications such as *Mercure de France*.²⁶ I argue that, as Crémieux seems to suggest, Kahnweiler's choice to publish such limited editions reflects a desire to associate himself and his gallery with elite and valuable objects as much as it was an attempt to publicise contemporary poetry.

Kahnweiler was also keen to stress the relationships between the artists and the poets that he published, emphasising that there was a level of mutual respect that existed before any publishing collaborations had even taken place. Picasso, whom Kahnweiler commissioned to produce illustrations for texts by Max Jacob, was noted as a particular admirer of French poets and their work, with Apollinaire telling Kahnweiler: "Even several years ago, when he could hardly speak French, he was completely able to judge, to appreciate immediately the beauty of a poem."²⁷ It was to Apollinaire that Kahnweiler would turn as the source of the text for his first publishing venture. Such was Kahnweiler's surety of purpose towards his publishing projects that many of the features that came to characterise Kahnweiler's illustrated books were present from his first book, *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, which he published in 1909, combining the text by Apollinaire with thirty-two woodcut illustrations provided by André Derain.²⁸

²⁵ Kahnweiler and Crémieux, 1917 p.48

²⁶ Ibid. p.48

²⁷ Apollinaire, quoted in Kahnweiler and Crémieux, 1971 p.49

²⁸ *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* was published in 42 unnumbered folios in an edition of 106: 25 books were numbered 1 – 25 and printed on Antique Shidzuoka paper; 75 were numbered 26 – 100 and printed on Arches paper; six copies were produced *hors commerce*. Printed by Paul Birault. Castleman, 1994 p.90

In a letter to his friend, the poet Max Jacob, Kahnweiler announced his decision to begin publishing illustrated books and that he had chosen Apollinaire as his first published author: 'I would like to publish books illustrated by my artists. The first will be Apollinaire's *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* (The Decaying Wizard). Have you got a book for me?'²⁹ Apollinaire's text is an Arthurian fantasy, filled with influences from Celtic mythology, telling the tale of Merlin, the eponymous decaying wizard. Both the author and the illustrator of *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* were close friends of Kahnweiler's and operated in the same social circles as Picasso, Braque and Vlaminck. Apollinaire had also written the preface for Kahnweiler's Braque exhibition.³⁰ It points to a clever strategy by Kahnweiler, therefore, to directly associate his first published author with his gallery activities.

Kahnweiler had first met Derain after he had purchased paintings by Derain and Vlaminck from the Salon des Indépendants. When the Salon closed in April, the artists came to Kahnweiler's apartment on rue Théophile Gautier to deliver the paintings.³¹ Kahnweiler told them that he was a dealer who wished to buy more of their work and thus they were among the earliest artists represented and exhibited within his gallery. It is logical therefore, that Kahnweiler would turn to one of his earliest clients when looking for woodcut illustrations. Derain began making woodcuts in 1906, in the studio that he shared with Vlaminck at Chatou, near Paris.³² Derain's woodcuts were influenced by the wood sculptures produced by Gauguin in Tahiti and displayed at Vollard's gallery in 1903 and at the Salon d'Automne of 1906.³³ A stronger influence was that of Oceanic and African art, which Derain experienced on a visit to London in 1906 while on a trip to the ethnography collections at the British Museum.³⁴ In a letter to Matisse following his visit, Derain wrote of the 'forms born outdoors, in full light and invoked to make themselves known in full light. This is the thing to which we ought to pay attention – with respect to that which, in parallel fashion, we could deduce from it.'³⁵ The influence of Oceanic and African art can certainly be discerned in Derain's woodcuts for *L'Enchanteur*. The woodcut, as a traditional printing practice, also served as a counter to the mechanical printing processes then being introduced.

²⁹ Kahnweiler, quoted in Pierre Assouline, *An Artful Life: A Biography of D.H. Kahnweiler 1884 – 1979*, (New York, 1990) p.68

³⁰ Riva Castelman, *A Century of Artists Books*, (New York, 1994) p.29

³¹ Kahnweiler and Crémieux, 1971 p.35

³² Stephen Coppel, 'The Fauve Woodcut', *Print Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 1999), p.14

³³ Ibid. p.14

³⁴ Ibid. p.15

³⁵ Derain, quoted in Coppel, 1999 . p.15

When it was released in 1909, *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, as well as being the first book published by Kahnweiler, was also the first time that Apollinaire's work had been published in book form and the first time that Derain had provided illustrations for a book. These facts alone would make it a work of merit in the development of the illustrated book but it is the book's appearance and the relationship within its pages between Apollinaire's text and Derain's woodcut images that would break new ground in arts publishing. In the subscription flyer for the book, Apollinaire wrote of Derain's woodcuts:

The most outstanding reformer of the plastic aesthetic has produced a series of woodcuts – consisting of pictures, ornamental letters, and decorative motifs – that make this book a pure artistic marvel. Intimately linked to the invention of the printing press, the woodcut – among all the various kinds of engraving – is the one whose style is best suited to the appearance of a printed page; its typographical tradition, however, was quickly lost, and since the nineteenth century, it has merged with that of metal engraving.³⁶

This deliberate harking to tradition serves as a useful counter to the previously unpublished text. Apollinaire is keen to stress, on the flyer, the unity between his text and Derain's images, writing:

We know of few books in which the harmony between the genius of the author and the genius of the artist appears more evident than in *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*. This harmony [...] is all too rare, as bibliophiles know.³⁷

Apollinaire's flyer text reveals that the book was very much being targeted towards the bibliophile market which again accounts for the emphasis on the marriage between text and image. It is also obvious from the space on the flyer dedicated to a valorisation of the woodcut that this was part of a clear strategy by Kahnweiler to associate his publication, and himself, with the finest traditions of printmaking.

The taste for beautiful editions seems to be reviving. The bibliophile publisher Henry Kahnweiler today offers art- and book-lovers a volume whose literary and artistic merit is enhanced by a typography that its publisher has sought to make irreproachable.³⁸

³⁶ Guillaume Apollinaire, Subscription flyer for *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, 1909, in Leroy C. Breunig (ed.), *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews 1902 – 1918*, (Boston, 2001) p.55

³⁷ Ibid. p.55

³⁸ Ibid. p.55

Such associations with a long tradition of art publishing were accentuated in order to cement the gallerist's reputation, in only his second year of trading, among more established galleries.

Compared to the earlier *Parallèlement*, *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* seems almost of a stark simplicity. Where Vollard's book is luxuriously illustrated with Bonnard's rose-sanguine, expressive lithographs; Kahnweiler's book is almost austere in its blocks of black and white text and images. Derain's woodcuts, with their African-inspired imagery, make no direct reference to the text by Apollinaire, recounting as it does conversations between Merlin and the Lady of the Lake among other equally Arthurian scenes (fig.5). Riva Castleman notes that this lack of cohesion between the subject matter of the text and the woodcuts, together with the obvious inspiration from African carvings, that makes *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* 'the true origin of the modern artist's book'.³⁹ While this greatly overlooks the innovations of the earlier *Parallèlement*, it is true that, unlike Vollard's publication, Kahnweiler attempts to create a genuine balance and synthesis between text and image. It is clear, for example, that there is a desire to produce pages of text and images that appear to be balanced, with the black-and-white space of the text corresponding harmoniously with the black-and-white woodcuts. Text and image occasionally share the same space in the form of Derain's head- and tailpieces that provide a clear visual link from the page of text and the opposing page of woodcuts (fig.6). The sense of a balance in importance between text and image is also emphasised by the lack of captions, which would have traditionally provided an explanation of what was being depicted in the woodcut. Pierre Assouline writes that this was a deliberate choice made by Kahnweiler 'so as not to introduce into the composition of the page an outside element that would be disruptive.'⁴⁰ By eschewing these captions, Kahnweiler allows the images to stand on their own alongside the text, complementing the text but not dependent upon it for their meaning.

Another feature that would, again, recur in all of Kahnweiler's books was the lack of the page numbers that would have traditionally appeared on those pages that featured text. This was originally an oversight, only noticed after it was too late to be remedied but it again produces the effect of balance between the

³⁹ Castleman, 1994 p.90

⁴⁰ Assouline 1990, p.69

pages that support text and those that support images, making each page of the forty-two unnumbered folios a cohesive unit.⁴¹ While it is true that the lack of pagination was an error, in general Kahnweiler was fastidious and involved himself in every detail regarding the composition and printing of his books.⁴² In this respect, Kahnweiler and Vollard are similar. While they differed in their attitude towards dealing in art and in their selection of texts to publish, in their approach to overseeing their publishing endeavours, they were the same.⁴³

A vital element that first appears in *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, that would go on to become a feature in all of Kahnweiler's books, is his publisher's mark, displayed on the book's title page (figs.7-8). This distinctive logo for his publishing company would remain unchanged throughout his publishing career despite the necessitated changes to the name of his galleries after the First and Second World Wars. Thus, the image provided an important sense of continuity across six decades of publishing practice. This element of the publication was also a collaborative effort by Apollinaire and Derain, with the author designing the logo of the publishing company but with Derain completing the woodcut.⁴⁴ Thus Kahnweiler's initials 'HK' sit alongside the much smaller Derain's, 'AD'. The symbolism of the two *coquilles* on either side of his initials was a play on the use of the term *coquille* to mean a typographical error.⁴⁵ Kahnweiler's publisher's mark, as a display of the unity of artist and poet, was ideally suited for representing a publisher of *livres d'artiste*. In his first book, Kahnweiler had positioned himself as both investing in contemporary poetry, while also drawing from the finest traditions of printing practice; the excitement of the new, with the reassurance of quality of the old and long-established. Though Vollard had the simpler, 'Ambroise Vollard Éditeur', the point stands that establishing their own eponymous imprints and attaching them specifically to the publishing of finely illustrated books, the gallerists positioned themselves at the juncture of outstanding artistic and poetic practice. The books themselves further acted as hallmarks of the gallerists'

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 69

⁴² 'He was completely involved with each work, extremely careful about the choice of cover; format, paper, and especially the typography – not to mention the text and illustrations. His preoccupation with technical details contrasted strangely with his easygoing indifference in matters of hanging and framing his paintings.' (Ibid. p.69)

⁴³ Una Johnson has noted Vollard's 'meticulous planning as to the type, paper, and general format that would best complement the text and illustrations.' (Johnson, 1977 p.26)

⁴⁴ Assouline, 1990 p. 69

⁴⁵ Castleman, 1994 p.29

Kahnweiler joked that, just as there were two *coquilles* in his publisher's mark, he would only allow two mistakes in any of his books, (Assouline, 1990 p. 69)

approach to promoting and dealing in contemporary art. This is a brand that they would continue to establish and build over the decades of their publishing practice.

Vollard and Kahnweiler demonstrate, from their very first published books, their commitment to a level of excellence in the illustrated book that was not content to rely on traditions of the genre. Their beginnings as book publishers are clearly characterised by their desire to innovate and develop the form of the illustrated book in order to produce truly modern art objects at the beginning of the new century. They adopted different approaches towards these first publications; with Vollard favouring the richness of Bonnard's colour lithographs twinned with Verlaine's sensual poetry while Kahnweiler takes the traditions of the monochrome woodcut, updated by Derain's African-inspired imagery and juxtaposed with Apollinaire's strange, fantastical text. Nevertheless, both dealers would demonstrate the same fastidious approach to their publishing projects that saw them manage every aspect of the book's construction.

As has been noted, the publishing of an illustrated book requires the collaboration of author, artist as well as printer and publisher and Vollard and Kahnweiler managed these relationships to produce cohesive and expertly crafted books. These first publications of both dealers also demonstrate the influence of the wider culture of artist-poet relationships in print, from the earlier examples of the illustrated book to more recent examples of periodicals and print albums that see the combination of new authors' texts placed alongside carefully reproduced artworks. The difference in approaches of each dealer also demonstrates that in terms of gallery publishing, there is no one standard in terms of which texts ought to be combined with which style or method of producing images. Indeed, one of the unchanging characteristics of each dealer's publishing activities is their continuous practice of experimentation; working with new artists and authors, attempting previously untried forms and thus constantly expanding the genre of the illustrated book well beyond its parameters at the end of the nineteenth century. While it is clear that they did not found the genre, they are in a large part responsible for its flourishing at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is clear from an exploration of the form and conditions of production of *Parallèlement* and *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, that what they begin in their first publications is continued and developed throughout their long publishing careers.

I.III: Building the Brand, Founding a Tradition: Vollard and Kahnweiler establishing a practice of gallery publishing:

Both Vollard and Kahnweiler proceeded with their innovative publishing practices alongside their careers as gallerists, producing a number of key works that continued to develop and alter the form of the illustrated book. Vollard's next project with Bonnard following *Parallèlement*, was the pastoral romance, *Daphnis et Chloé*, by the third-century Greek author Longus, published in 1902 (fig.9). The tale had also been turned into a one-act operetta by Jacques Offenbach that first opened in 1860. Following on so quickly from their previous collaboration it is perhaps surprising that the Imprimerie Nationale once again printed the text, in this instance without the need for a recall. What is also surprising is the pointed change in approach to this publication that sees a return to some of the hallmarks of traditional illustrated book publishing. Gone, for instance, are the sweeping, expressive margin illustrations that characterised *Parallèlement*. In their place are more regimented and traditionalistic rectangular lithographs, with a uniform five lines of text underneath each image referring directly to the subject of the illustrations above.⁴⁶ This shift in style towards more traditional tropes of book publishing may appear regressive but nevertheless demonstrates Vollard's willingness to experiment with a variety of formats in his publishing practice. It also highlights his decision to publish a book that features illustrations that are suitable and complementary to its classical source material. While *Daphnis et Chloé* corresponds more closely to the traditions of book illustration, it should be noted that in the same year Vollard also published the very different work of Octave Mirbeau's *Le Jardin des supplices*, with twenty lithographic illustrations provided by the sculptor Rodin whose drawings were rendered into colour lithographs and printed by Auguste Clot (fig.10).⁴⁷

What becomes clear in comparing these two works of the same year is that even in these early years of his publishing practice, there was not one set style to which Vollard held his artist-printmakers. Rather, he gave them free rein to experiment with imagery and a variety of different processes. In allowing his artists such freedom, Vollard is also free from the constraints of a publisher who must produce books that can be easily categorised. Over the course of the following decade, Vollard demonstrated his innovative approach to publishing in a piecemeal

⁴⁶ Newman, 1989 p. 172

⁴⁷ Johnson, 1977 p.24

fashion; occasionally using the same artists, such as Bonnard, but altering the nature of the text, the layout of illustrations or the printing processes used. In 1910, for example, he returned to a familiar author when he published Verlaine's *Sagesse*. Rather than return to, in this context, the equally familiar visual work of Bonnard and the process of lithography, he takes the decision to commission Denis to provide illustrations in colour.⁴⁸ The lack of a need for strict cohesion across his published titles was a trait also shared by Kahnweiler, who would also re-use the same artists but would make use of their talents in different ways. Kahnweiler would also experiment by using different artists with vastly different visual styles and processes to illustrate the works of a single chosen author, as he did with the *Matorel* trilogy.

In 1911, Kahnweiler published his second illustrated book, *Saint Matorel* by Max Jacob, illustrated with four etchings provided by Picasso. The book was the first in the trilogy of works by the author featuring the character Victor Matorel, a thinly veiled depiction of the author himself. The second, *Les Oeuvres burlesques et mystiques de Frère Matorel, mort au couvent*, was published in 1912 and featured woodcuts by Derain. The final book in the series was *Le siège de Jérusalem: grande tentation céleste de Saint Matorel*, which was, again, accompanied with etchings by Picasso and published in 1914. Kahnweiler had initially considered Derain to provide illustrations for the first book in the series, with the keen support of Jacob. Derain, however, demurred in a letter to Kahnweiler in 1910:

It's impossible for me to do anything for the manuscript. It's a wonderful work which leaves no room for me, and besides, much as I may admire it, my preoccupations which form the subject of my work are completely absent from this book (which accounts for its beauty in my estimation).⁴⁹

It was a further two months before Kahnweiler asked Picasso to provide the illustrations for *Saint Matorel*. Kahnweiler's risk lay in the fact that the artist had never illustrated a book before, aside from a drypoint sketch made for a book of poems by André Salmon⁵⁰; nevertheless, the offer was made and Picasso agreed to

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.25

⁴⁹ Derain, quoted in Assouline, 1990 p.77

⁵⁰ Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, (New York; Evanston; San Francisco; London, 1973) p.180

complete the etchings for *Saint Matorel* during the summer he spent in Cadaqués with Derain and Fernande Olivier.⁵¹

While Derain would in fact go on to provide woodcuts for the second book in the series, it is the contributions of Picasso to the trilogy that are of more interest and of greater significance in developing the form of the illustrated book. Not only was this the first time that Picasso had illustrated a full book but it would also mark the first prints produced and published in the Cubist style. Picasso's friend and biographer Roland Penrose has written of Jacob's affection for Picasso as well as his interest in Cubism that led him, along with Apollinaire, to 'incorporate the influence of Cubism into their literary style.'⁵² Jacob had first encountered Picasso's work at his first exhibition in Vollard's gallery in 1901 and was inspired to contact the artist and to offer to write a book about him, although this never materialised.⁵³ Jacob was delighted, therefore when told that Picasso would illustrate his books. Picasso was particularly interested in the character of Mademoiselle Léonie, who is the basis for two of the four illustrations in the book (figs.11-12).⁵⁴ The remaining two illustrations are of a table, at which Matorel sits in a village inn (fig.13) and a Barcelona monastery (fig.14). The nature of Picasso's Cubist etchings as illustrations mean that in place of a specific setting or character there is instead a signifier of a figure or location. As Abraham Horodisch writes:

[...] in the same way as we must lift the poet's characters above the individual plane in order to understand them aright, so the illustrations, in conformity with the text, strike the beholder as symbolic ciphers rather than as visual representations.⁵⁵

Jacob's poetry, influenced by the aesthetics of cubism, was perfectly complemented by Picasso's cubist etchings: 'Just as the text is to be understood symbolically, so Picasso's prints strike us not as representing individual persons or situations, but as formulas expressing the essence of the subject.'⁵⁶ Moreover, as Penrose writes, the process of etching also lent itself well to the techniques in painting that Picasso was employing at the time, 'the short brushstrokes of analytical Cubism being

⁵¹ Assouline, 1990 p.77

⁵² Penrose, 1973. p.179

⁵³ Abraham Horodisch, *Picasso as a Book Artist*, (Cleveland, 1962) p. 22

⁵⁴ Robert Flynn Johnson, *Artists' Books in the Modern Era 1870 – 2000: The Reva and David Logan Collection of Illustrated Books*, (San Francisco, 2002), p. 66

⁵⁵ Horodisch, 1962 p.25

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 25

replaced by short lines or dots to shade certain planes and place them in relief.’⁵⁷ This was a radical step in the field of book illustration, even more so than Kahnweiler’s earlier choice to use the fauvist woodcuts of Derain to illustrate *L’Enchanteur pourrissant*. As Castleman has argued, Kahnweiler’s decision to commission Picasso should be remembered in the context that, at this time, ‘Picasso’s Cubist work was unappreciated (and nearly unknown) in Paris.’⁵⁸ From Kahnweiler’s point of view, however, any risk taken by illustrating the work of a largely unknown author with an equally unknown illustrator, was mitigated by the fact that as a gallerist he was actively trying to promote these works and find a public for them. The book, therefore, offered the perfect opportunity to find an audience for these works while also aligning Kahnweiler with the production of these first illustrative Cubist etchings.

While *Saint Matorel* took the form of a prose work, Jacob’s *Le siège de Jérusalem* took the form of a play in three acts. Picasso provided three etchings, one to accompany each act. The play tells the story of a heavenly, idealised Jerusalem, under siege and embattled by many princes and their armies and of Saint Matorel, who heroically gives his life so that the city might be saved. Picasso’s illustrations for *Le siège de Jérusalem*, unlike those he supplied for the first in the Matorel trilogy, do not appear to illustrate specific scenes. In this case there appears to be an attempt to echo the nature of the work itself in terms of their opaqueness and difficulty of interpretation. The artist gave his etchings the titles ‘Female Nude’ (fig.15), ‘Still-Life with Skull’ (fig.16) and ‘Woman’ (fig.17) which is also suggestive of the fact that the connection between the text of Jacob’s drama and Picasso’s illustrations is more tenuous here than in *Saint Matorel*. In the first book of the trilogy Picasso had used abstracted forms but had done so in order to represent specific characters, objects and locations mentioned within the text. What remains, however, is an attempt to capture the nature of the author’s intentions, leading Horodish to compare the book to religious medieval manuscript illumination: ‘Although the result is not an illustration of the text in a strict sense, we feel that word and image have been brought into perfect harmony.’⁵⁹ Penrose has again noted how the development of Picasso’s cubist style in painting is mirrored in the etchings he provides for this book: ‘The evolution of cubist painting is transferred to this medium: the introduction of lettering, wood-graining and paradoxically

⁵⁷ Penrose, 1973 p.180

⁵⁸ Castleman, 1994 p.91

⁵⁹ Horodisch, 1962 p.25

naturalistic detail again presented no difficulty to Picasso.⁶⁰ The risk that Kahnweiler took when publishing the Matorel trilogy was summarised by Horodisch when writing of the books' reception: 'these were novel and unheard-of experiments, which perplexed the connoisseurs, were ridiculed by bibliophiles, and taken seriously by very few.'⁶¹ Where Kahnweiler led the way, in terms of publishing the illustrations of Picasso, Vollard would follow when he commissioned the artist to provide illustrations for Balzac's *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*, which he published in 1931.

The coming of war in 1914 disrupted business for both Vollard and Kahnweiler. Vollard closed his gallery on the rue Laffitte and moved his base of operations to his lodgings on the nearby rue de Gramont for the duration of the war, only returning to business at rue Laffitte in 1919. Kahnweiler was in Italy when war was declared and so found himself trapped between his birthplace and his adopted home. He had no desire to return to Germany but, designated as an enemy alien, it would now also be difficult for him to return to France. He spent the war years in Switzerland, only returning to Paris to resume his business as a dealer in 1920. As his property had been sequestered during the war, Kahnweiler opened a new gallery at 29 rue d'Astorg, near to the rue la Boétie, named after his friend and partner André Simon. Books published while he was based at this gallery were published under the name 'Éditions de la Galerie Simon' although they retained Kahnweiler's publisher's mark. The publisher's mark as Kahnweiler's brand was particularly important during the periods of upheaval in Kahnweiler's life for the continuity that it offered his business and his customers.

Both Kahnweiler and Vollard resumed their publishing practice with vigour as their galleries returned to a state of normality. The early years of the 1920s were a particularly fruitful time for Kahnweiler's publishing. In 1921 alone, he published six illustrated books including *Les Pélican*, a satirical play by Raymond Radiguet with seven etchings, including a wrapper, by Henri Laurens (fig.18). This publication was daring in terms of Laurens's cubist etchings that were the first produced by the artist, who was more known for sculpture at the time.⁶² In the same year, Kahnweiler also published Erik Satie's one-act play *Le Piège de Méduse: Comédie lyrique en un acte* with illustrations in the form of three colour woodcuts provided by Georges Braque (fig.19). The depictions of musical instruments in

⁶⁰ Penrose, 1973 p.180

⁶¹ Horodisch, 1962 p. 25

⁶² Flynn Johnson, 2002 p.82

Satie's play were Braque's first original book illustrations and came at a crucial moment in the development of the artist's practice, as Flynn Johnson writes: 'They show Braque breaking with the rigid discipline of early Cubism and evolving towards the colourful, relaxed, essentially decorative mode of expression in his later career.'⁶³ A third title published by Kahnweiler in 1921 was André Malraux's *Lunes en papier* with seven illustrations by Fernand Léger (fig.20). The artist's bold, abstract monochrome woodcuts accompany what was the first published text by Malraux.

Kahnweiler's publications from this year alone would be enough to justify his reputation as a groundbreaking publisher unafraid of taking risks on untested authors and artists but as the 1920s progressed he continued to display a desire to forge new territory in the realm of the illustrated book. In 1924 Kahnweiler published *Soleils bas* by Georges Limbour with four drypoint illustrations by André Masson (fig.21). Flynn Johnson points out that the year of publication coincides with the same year that Masson met André Breton and was inducted into the surrealist movement and is thus a very early example of surrealist book illustration.⁶⁴ During the late 1920s, Vollard had published books as varied as Verlaine's *Fêtes galantes*, with illustrations by Pierre Laprade in 1928 and, in 1930, both Homer's *L'Odyssée* with illustrations by Emile Bernard and *La Belle Enfant, ou L'Amour à quarante ans* by Eugène Montfort and featuring over one hundred illustrations from full-page to head- and tailpieces by Raoul Dufy. But of his post-war publications to date, varied in their subject matter, form and use of materials, it was Vollard's decision to publish works such as Balzac's *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu* in 1931 and later *Le Cirque de l'étoile filante*, in 1938, that are particularly significant.

Vollard chose to illustrate Balzac's tale with a combination of drawings and etchings by Picasso in what Penrose described as 'a volume which puzzled book collectors by its diversity of styles.'⁶⁵ Balzac's story is of an aged artist who has worked for a decade to reproduce the ideal in female beauty only to end with a canvas covered in indecipherable scrawls and daubs incomprehensible to all but the artist himself. Vollard describes the sixteen pages, containing fifty-six drawings by Picasso, as an introduction to the text. The drawings, which were printed as wood engravings by Aubert, are a series of black lines and circles, with circles appearing at every point of intersection between two or more lines (fig.22). There

⁶³ Ibid. p.84

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 112

⁶⁵ Penrose, 1973 p.272

are also a further sixty-seven engraved drawings as well as thirteen full-page etchings inserted throughout the text. The etchings are in a more clearly representational style and illustrate the themes of the work if not exact moments from the narrative (fig.23). The 'introductory' drawings are taken from forty pages of sketchbook drawings completed by the artist while in Juan-les-Pins in 1924. Penrose rejects the idea that the drawings, later wood engravings, were based on pure abstraction with 'no reference to any associations.'⁶⁶ Instead, he argues that, when compared to the still-lives that Picasso was producing at the time: 'The original subject matter of most of the drawings reveals itself as the shapes of musical instruments, while others, evoking the resemblance between the guitar and the human form, are more anthropomorphic.'⁶⁷ The decision to incorporate these drawings into Balzac's text was Vollard's, the result being a visually jarring juxtaposition:

The opposition of two such different styles was well chosen. Apart from the visual excitement it produces, it reaffirms the necessity for multiple reactions between art and reality. Here, just as in the cubist 'Still-life with Chair-caning', the drawings that imitate nothing, those of Juan-les-Pins, exist with an autonomous reality of their own and in this way outshine the seductive charm of those that have a clear resemblance to a subject.⁶⁸

Thus, Vollard is careful of the issues being explored by the artist through his work at the time, while also being pertinent to the themes expressed by the text. One of his final published works, *Le Cirque de l'étoile filante*, is a rare example of Vollard publishing text and illustration by the same artist. Originally, Georges Rouault was commissioned to illustrate text provided by André Suarès but after reading what Suarès had produced, Vollard deemed it unacceptable. As work on the book had progressed to the extent that a number of maquettes had been made and agreed upon, Rouault sought permission to write an adapted text, to suit the illustrations he had already produced. Both Suarès and Vollard agreed to this change and the resultant work was published in 1938 with seventeen aquatints and etchings and seventy-four wood engravings rendered by Aubert (figs. 24-25). Rouault and Aubert worked particularly closely, perhaps because this publication saw Rouault

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.252

⁶⁷ Ibid. p.253

⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 271-272

experiment with a new printing technique involving sugar-lift aquatint.⁶⁹ It is clear therefore that throughout what was to be the last decade of his life, Vollard displayed as much zeal, rigour and attention to detail in his publishing activities as he had with his first published book in 1900.

Of the works Vollard left incomplete at the time of his death, ten would go on to be published by other publishers, including Hesiod's *Theogonie*, which was later published, with illustrations by Braque, by the gallerist Aimé Maeght. Maeght, like his predecessors Vollard and Kahnweiler, went on to establish a publishing practice alongside his role as a gallerist and would display a similar zeal to publishing as his forebears. By the end of his life, in 1939, it was clear that Vollard, along with Kahnweiler, had established a precedent for future gallerists who wished to publish finely illustrated books that combined the work of authors, both classical and contemporary, with the work of leading artists of the age. The brand established by both dealers served to rank gallerist publishing as highly important, influential and characterised by willingness towards experiment, innovation and unmatched quality.

Both gallerists successfully fostered relationships with writers and artists as well as the printmakers required to produce an illustrated book and these relationships were advertised via the beauty and craft of the books themselves. Vollard's practice was characterised by a desire to expand the nature of the illustrated book by combining the work of often long-dead authors and classical texts with beautifully produced artworks that made the most of new printing technology. Kahnweiler, on the other hand, displayed more of a willingness towards risk by publishing contemporary poets, often for the first time, twinned with artwork that was challenging and which complemented the nature and ideals expressed within the text. While their approach was different, the effects of their publishing were similar. The example set by Vollard and Kahnweiler marked the beginnings of a flourishing in the publishing of the illustrated book that was taken up by career-publishers such as Tériade, Iliasz and Skira as well as gallerist-publishers such as the aforementioned Maeght. It was now established that gallerists could rival the output of publishing houses in terms of quality and so future dealers would continue the work of developing, not only the form of the illustrated book, but also expanding their publishing enterprise into other forms of books, catalogues and journals. The precedent set by Kahnweiler of working with

⁶⁹ Castleman, 1994 p.88

contemporary, and often previously unpublished, writers was particularly taken up by Maeght in both his illustrated books and his gallery-journal *Derrière le miroir*. The Kahnweiler-effect can still be discerned today in the publishing of contemporary gallerists such as David Zwirner, who seek to produce *ekphrastic* books by previously unpublished, obscure or out-of-print writers, critics and poets.

II: Paris Press: the impact of the publishing zeitgeist of periodicals, posters and prints in *fin-de-siècle* Paris

While Vollard's motivation to publish supposedly germinated from seeing old books on the Paris quays and Kahnweiler spoke of giving his poets and artists a little exposure, I argue that the context of popular publishing in Paris was impossible to underestimate for any gallerist hoping to promote contemporary art. Vollard's publication of *Parallèlement* in 1900 is a landmark moment in the history of the artist-illustrated book in France but it also had a wellspring of influences that reflect the nature of artist-writer collaboration and interaction in France at the turn of the century. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there had been notable examples of the illustrated book as the site of collaborative endeavour between celebrated poets and artists of the age. There was also a burgeoning print culture in Paris that had been bolstered by innovations in lithographic processes. Alongside the production of books, print albums and posters, there were also a number of periodicals dedicated to the interplay between literature and the arts. These periodicals often featured articles by leading poets and writers of the age who would engage with the art being created by their visual artist friends and colleagues. There were also numerous crossovers in terms of the publishers and printers of books, periodicals and print albums. Taking this into account, along with the social and business relationships that characterised both Vollard and Kahnweiler's roles as gallerists at this time, it becomes apparent that their publishing practice was shaped by more than just the history and traditions of French book illustration. By mapping out the nature of art publishing in its various forms in *fin-de-siècle* Paris, one is better prepared to analyse the publications that were to become the foundation of grand publishing careers for the gallerists Vollard and Kahnweiler.

When he arrived in Paris in 1890 from his birthplace on the island of La Réunion, Vollard discovered the city at the height of a publishing boom. Innovations in printing technology had allowed for the growth in popularity of periodicals dedicated to visual art and literature as well as posters advertising exhibitions and the publishing of print editions of artists' works. Although he had originally intended to study law at the Ecole de Droit, Vollard was more captivated by the prints and books on sale in the narrow streets of the Latin Quarter and by

the quays.⁷⁰ After finding himself unsuccessful in preliminary examinations for a doctorate in law, he eventually sought a short apprenticeship at the gallery L'Union Artistique. By 1893 he was able to move from Montmartre to open a small gallery at number 39 rue Laffitte, on the right bank, which was known informally at the time as the 'rue des tableaux' due to the preponderance of art dealers whose businesses were located there.⁷¹ His cellar dining room, located underneath his gallery, played host to the artists of the day. Cézanne, Degas, Renoir and Redon were among those who sampled Vollard's signature chicken curry, a culinary homage to his birthplace, while they dined with collectors, writers, critics and those who were simply curious to know more about the famous artists whose names they recognised.⁷² Kahnweiler arrived in Paris from Germany, over a decade later than Vollard, in 1902. Like Vollard, he too began his Paris life with an alternative profession; in his case he was set to pursue a career as a stockbroker. He began his career in art dealing by collecting prints by Manet, Toulouse-Lautrec, Cézanne, Bonnard and others from around 1905 onwards and in 1907 he opened his own gallery at number 28 rue Vignon, not far from the rue Laffitte.⁷³

From his position within the literal and figurative centre of the fin-de-siècle Paris gallery world, Vollard was well placed to witness, and indeed take advantage of, the developments in arts publishing taking place at the time. The most immediate and obvious arts publication for anyone operating within the art market at this time would be the arts periodical. There had been a great increase in the number of published journals and reviews of visual art and literature in the decade before *Parallèlement* was published. Titles such as *La Plume* (1889 – 1905) (fig.26), *La Revue blanche* (1889 – 1903) (fig.27) and *L'Ermitage* (1890 – 1906) (fig.28) joined the more established *Mercure de France*, which had been published in various incarnations since the seventeenth century and had been revived as a literary review by Alfred Vallette in 1890. Elisa Grilli and Evanghelia Stead have written of the relationships that linked these periodicals, concluding that they often shared contributors and publishers and commented on the same artists.⁷⁴ First published on 15 April 1889, *La Plume* had been founded by Léon Deschamps and

⁷⁰ Johnson 1977, p.17

⁷¹ Ibid. p.17

⁷² Vollard 1978, pp.81-82

⁷³ Kahnweiler and Crémieux 1971, p.13

⁷⁴ Elisa Grilli and Evanghelia Stead, 'Between Symbolism and Avant-Garde Poetics', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume III: Europe 1880 – 1940* (Oxford, 2013) pp.76 - 100

would run for 376 issues, including contributions from Anatole France, Paul Verlaine and Stéphane Mallarmé.⁷⁵ Grilli and Stead describe what was to become the regular format for *La Plume*:

By January 1892, most issues included short prose pieces, poetry, miscellaneous reviews, portraits, biographies of living or recently deceased literary and artistic personalities, literary essays, open letters, discussions, chronicles, as well as detailed records of the banquets and soirees organised by the editorial board and literary news from abroad (including Russia, Belgium, Germany and Romania) [...] The use of illustrations expanded from artistic supplements to include reproductions of sketches, drawings, watercolours, or paintings of particular value and freshness, under an inviting cover picturing a half-naked female, a personification of *La Plume* (The Pen) itself.⁷⁶

This format, which featured a rich array of literary and artistic texts combined with reproductions of artists' sketches and paintings, is one that was echoed in the contemporary publications *L'Ermitage* and *La Revue blanche*. Although *L'Ermitage* was initially intended to focus on publishing comedy and dramas penned by young amateur actors and writers, it soon included articles on 'arts, philosophy and literature', including contributions from Maurice Denis.⁷⁷ The move towards a new format that featured illustrations saw the contribution of André Gide who later went on to have editorial control over appointing authors.⁷⁸ *La Revue blanche* was first published in Liège before moving its base of operations to Paris in October 1891 where it attracted the input of writers, poets and artists including Mallarmé, Alfred Jarry, Verlaine and Pierre Bonnard.⁷⁹ The *Revue* had developed from a small leaflet to a sixteen-page review that had a circulation in 1891 of 2,500, offering its readership a selection of criticism, prose, poetry and literary essays. The magazine demonstrated a keen attention to detail and respect for both the literary and graphic arts.⁸⁰

Bonnard was not only a contributor to *La Revue* but also produced a poster to advertise the magazine in 1894 (fig.29). The poster depicts a fashionably

⁷⁵ Ibid p.77

⁷⁶ Ibid. p.78

⁷⁷ Ibid. p.80

⁷⁸ Ibid. p.80

⁷⁹ Ibid. p.81

⁸⁰ 'It scrupulously respected the typographic layout of requested by Mallarmé for his verses and his 'Variations sur un sujet' and granted Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec a fourth lithographic stone solely to reproduce 'two crimson lines of a few millimetres' ... in the March 1894 number.' (Ibid. p.82)

dressed woman holding a copy of the magazine, her face partially obscured by her black coat and hat. Beside her a young boy gestures towards the magazine in her hand while appearing to open his mouth in a shout, perhaps calling on others to do the same and purchase a copy. The text advertises that the periodical is on sale everywhere, as demonstrated by the many copies that appear to fill a street newsstand behind the central figures. The stacked copies have attracted the attention of a top-hatted gentleman who may be standing in an amorphous black crowd, jostling for their copy. The poster also reveals the address of the magazine, on rue Laffitte, making the publishers neighbours of Vollard's gallery. As well as providing an insight into Bonnard's lithographic techniques in the 1890s, the poster also acts as a neat visual of how such periodicals were popular, fashionable and, apparently, ubiquitous in Paris at this time. Periodicals such as *La Revue blanche* published in the last decade of the nineteenth century demonstrated an experimental approach to arts publishing that saw the merging of literature, poetry and visual art and relied on the frequent collaboration of poets, artists and publishers. These periodicals were careful of the respective requirements of publishing criticism and poetry as well as being mindful of the considerations of reproducing paintings and sketches in print form as well as artists' original lithographs. All this was achieved while appealing to a mass market that, by 1900, would have been used to publications that featured poetic texts displayed alongside finely printed artwork.

As well as the growth in popularity and availability of the arts periodical, Vollard cannot have escaped the preponderance of print albums that had been published in the decade between his arrival in Paris in 1890 and the publication of his first book in 1900. *Les Peintres-Lithographes* was published by the journal *L'Artiste* under director Henri-Patrice Dillon between 1892 and 1897 and featured seven albums of ten lithographs each by over sixty artists.⁸¹ Between 1894 and 1895, *L'Epreuve* was published by Maurice Dumont in an edition of two hundred with a deluxe edition of fifteen and consisted of twelve albums of ten prints each by sixty artists.⁸² Charles Masson and H. Piazza published *L'Estampe moderne* between 1897 and 1899 in a series of twenty-four albums of four prints each in an edition of one hundred and fifty.⁸³ Of the many print albums published in this decade, perhaps the most significant is *L'Estampe originale*, which was published in nine

⁸¹ Dennis Cate, 2000, p.20

⁸² Ibid. p.20

⁸³ Ibid. p.20

albums, each featuring ten prints, between 1893 and 1895. André Marty commissioned seventy-four artists to produce prints in a variety of media, which were published in editions of one hundred by Marty's *Journal des artistes*. The first and last editions featured wrappers illustrated by Toulouse-Lautrec. Marty's *L'Estampe Originale* would go on to publish Gustave Geffroy's *Yvette Guilbert* in 1894 with lithographic illustrations provided by Toulouse-Lautrec, discussed later in this section. The title of Marty's print album highlights his view that printing was a medium that was just as important, innovative and original as other forms of artistic practice such as painting or sculpture.⁸⁴ The album, which featured prints by Gauguin, Whistler, Redon and Bonnard among others, promoted printmaking as an original medium for artists to experiment and collaborate with printers. Toulouse-Lautrec's colour lithograph for the wrapping of the first album (fig.30) features the printer Père Cotelie in his workshop. Cotelie is depicted working the presses while the cabaret star Jane Avril admires his work.⁸⁵ Toulouse-Lautrec's cover image demonstrates the growing importance of the role of the printer as collaborator with the artist. This corresponds, as Dennis Cate writes, to a wider appreciation in the 1890s of printmaking as more than a means of reproduction or copying of another artist's work and highlights its ability to act as a means of unique artistic expression.⁸⁶

Aside from the numerous print albums and periodicals published at this time, Dennis Cate has also noted the increase in important exhibitions that highlighted the shifting attitudes towards printing in France at the end of the nineteenth century, beginning with the first major exhibition featuring painter-printmakers held at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in 1889.⁸⁷ Alongside this first major exhibition, Dennis Cate also notes the exhibition of Gauguin's series of lithographs printed from zinc plates at Café Volpini on the occasion of the International Exposition as well as exhibitions at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts on Japanese prints in 1890 and on the history of lithography in 1891.⁸⁸ The exhibition of prints at

⁸⁴ Ibid. p.20

⁸⁵ www.metmuseum.org/about-the-museum/now-at-the-met/2015/lestampe-originale (accessed 29 January 2016)

⁸⁶ 'By the early 1890s, the terms "l'estampe originale," "l'épreuve," and "peintres-graveurs" had fully evolved within the fine art lexicon to describe the genre of printed image that most closely paralleled the inherent individualistic qualities of painting and sculpture. The implicit meaning of these terms emphasizes the creative over the reproductive potential of printmaking, which, by its very nature, is duplicative or multiple.' Dennis Cate, 2000 p.19

⁸⁷ Ibid. p.19

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.21

Durand-Ruel's gallery became an annual event and Vollard would also hold exhibitions at his gallery featuring the work of painter-printmakers in 1896 and 1899. These exhibitions, along with the growth in artists contributing works to print albums served to shift attitudes towards printmaking at this time. Whereas previously printmaking had been viewed mainly as a means of aiding in the reproduction of artists' works, there was now a focus on the printing process as a creative means in its own right.

Vollard was inspired by *L'Estampe originale* to publish his own print editions and in 1895 he commissioned his first portfolio of lithographs by Bonnard, titled *Quelques Aspects de la vie de Paris*, although they would not be published until 1899. This was Vollard's first engagement in publishing and there are parallels between this first print commission and his first published book. Bonnard's *Quelques Aspects* presents twelve scenes of Parisian life as observed by the artist. The features of the print album, as described by Richard Thomson, include those that would appear again in Bonnard's illustrations for *Parallèlement*: 'In general the drawing is not precise; Bonnard favoured witty, simplified shapes, employing edgy, approximate handling, and opted for sandy, ochre, and russet tones.'⁸⁹ In the time between commissioning Bonnard's *Quelques Aspects* and publishing them, Vollard had published a number of other print albums and portfolios of lithographs. In 1896 he had published twenty-two prints under the title *L'Album des peintres-graveurs* in a limited edition of one hundred, featuring the work of the artists Bonnard, Denis, Munch, Redon and Renoir among others.⁹⁰ In the same year he released a poster for his Exposition des Peintres-Gravures that featured a lithograph by Bonnard and published a portfolio of lithographs based on Flaubert's *Tentation de Saint-Antoine* with illustrations by Odilon Redon. In 1897 he issued a second album of prints, this time adapting the title from *L'Album des peintres-gravures* to *L'Album d'estampes originales de la Galerie Vollard*. Una Johnson speculates that the reason for the change in title was intended to entice more collectors due to the market for print albums favouring the work of professional printers rather than Vollard's favoured painter-printmakers.⁹¹ Vollard continued to publish print albums and portfolios of lithographs, in various formats after he

⁸⁹ Richard Thomson, 'Styling the City: Observation and Perception in Print Albums of the 1890s' in *Prints Abound: Paris in the 1890s* (Washington, D.C., 2000) p.50

⁹⁰ Johnson, 1977 p.19

⁹¹ Ibid. p.19

began publishing books but more and more it was the notion of becoming a great publisher of illustrated books that occupied his time.

The reasons for the success of print albums in Paris at this time are varied and complex and lie in the respective benefits that dealing in print editions gave to artists, dealers and collectors, as has been noted by Richard Thomson.⁹² Artists could engage with the form of the print in order to produce works that could be reproduced widely, and in a variety of formats due to advances in printing technology such as colour lithography. Any increase in terms of publicity and sales for an artist would have benefitted the dealer representing him. It is this desire for publicity, for all products within the competitive market of 1890s Paris, that leads, as Thomson also notes, to artists engaging with the new 'mass medium' of the colour poster which can give 'even young artists the opportunity to establish national reputations.'⁹³ Robert Flynn Johnson has also argued that the growth in industrialisation and urbanisation during the Third Republic led to the bourgeoisie growing in size and financial clout.⁹⁴ This growth in the social standing of the bourgeois classes led in turn to the flourishing of bibliophile societies, dedicated to procuring, publishing and patronising finely illustrated books.⁹⁵ Examples of bibliophile societies formed around this time included *Les Bibliophiles contemporains*, *Les Cent bibliophiles*, and *Les XX*.⁹⁶ This increased market for luxury book editions did not escape canny operators like Vollard and there is no doubt that the books that were either produced or purchased by these societies, as well as by the publishers of print albums and arts periodicals, had a great influence on the publishing practices of both men.

Within this greater context of arts publishing, there were a number of notable examples of illustrated books published in the decade between 1890 and 1900.⁹⁷ These books would represent innovations in the genre and contain features

⁹² Thomson, 2000 p.50

⁹³ Ibid. p.50

⁹⁴ Flynn Johnson 2002, p.18

⁹⁵ Ibid. p.18

⁹⁶ Dennis Cate, 2000 p.33

⁹⁷ There are, naturally, examples of a synthesis between poetry and the visual arts prior to the 1890s, where artists had shown a particular interest in illustrating works of poetry. It is important, for example, to consider the contribution of Manet to the genre of the illustrated book, particularly in his illustrations to Stéphane Mallarmé's translation of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven* in 1875. Robert Flynn Johnson traces the beginnings of a 'sea change' in publishing illustrated books to Manet's etchings for Charles Cros's *Le Fleuve* (1874). (Flynn Johnson, 2002 p.19)

There had also been earlier, significant examples of poets engaging in writing on the visual arts in France. Baudelaire had written on the *Salons* of 1845, 1846 and 1859 and produced

that appear again in the publishing of Kahnweiler and Vollard. In this way they can be considered as individual precursors to the greater publishing practice begun by both dealers in the first decade of the twentieth century. Two of the most influential examples of innovative illustrated books date from the early 1890s. In 1893, the same year in which Vollard opened his small gallery at 39 rue Laffitte, André Gide's *Le Voyage d'Urien* was published by Librairie de l'Art Indépendant. The book featured thirty lithographic illustrations by Maurice Denis, all of which are contained within printed frames (figs.31-32). The lithographs interrupt the flow of the text but the printed black frames largely prevent any interaction between the text and Denis's delicate depictions. Gide's allegorical text tells the tale of Urien and his band of pilgrims on a search for a spiritual city of God in a pursuit of the ideal.⁹⁸ The pun in the title on the notion of a '*voyage du rien*', or 'journey to nowhere', suggests the author considers such a search to be futile. Denis's lithographs depict scenes described within the text and, in doing so, perform the traditional function of book illustration. What is unusual is the placement of the lithographs; within the body of the text. Denis suggested placing large blocks of illustration in the middle of the page, with sentences above and below the images in order that it should remain balanced in terms of the text on the facing page.⁹⁹ This notion of a balance between the pages that contain text and those that contain images is one that will appear later in Kahnweiler's first published book. The text was printed by Paul Schmidt, with lithographs printed by Edouard Ancourt in an edition of over three hundred. The Librairie de l'Art Indépendant was both a publishing house and a bookshop owned by Edmond Bailly (a pseudonym for

his *Le Peintre de La Vie Moderne* in 1863. Adelia Williams has cited Baudelaire and Stéphane Mallarmé as 'essential nineteenth century "pictorialist" poets' and the antecedents of Guillaume Apollinaire and suggests that all three can be considered *poète critiques*. Williams argues that Mallarmé attempted to replicate elements of the visual image through his poetry and that in his *Un Coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard* (1897) he 'borrowed the spatial qualities of the plastic arts to create a three-dimensional poem'. Apollinaire follows Mallarmé's experiments with the visual nature of text on the page in his own *Calligrammes* (1918) as well as continuing Baudelaire's tradition of writing on the *Salons* in his own critical writings on the *Salon des Indépendants*, the *Salon de la Nationale*, the *Salon d'Hiver*, and the *Salon d'Automne*. Williams also notes the significance of the fact that Apollinaire would often find himself writing criticism on the artwork of those who were in his own social circle, particularly André Derain who would go on to illustrate Apollinaire's first published book, *L'Enchanteur pourrisant*, in 1909. (Adelia Williams, 'Verbal Meets Visual: An Overview of *poésie critique* at the *fin-de-siècle*', *The French Review*, Vol.73, No.3 (Feb., 2000), pp.488-489)

⁹⁸ Gerard Vaughan, 'André Gide and Maurice Denis "Le Voyage d'Urien"', in *Print Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September 1984), p.180

⁹⁹ Paul van Capelleveen, *Voices and Visions: The Koopman Collection and the Art of the French Book*, (The Hague, 2009) p.19

Henri-Edmond Limet) that acted as a meeting point for poets and artists from the time it opened in 1889.¹⁰⁰ The poets and artists who would often meet at the Librairie de l'Art on the rue de la Chaussée d'Antin included Redon, Toulouse-Lautrec, Mallarmé and Gide.¹⁰¹ The Librairie also distributed the literary magazine *Chimère*, which was published between 1891 and 1893 and featured the work of Verlaine and Valéry.¹⁰² Although Gide published six books with the Librairie between 1891 and 1895, *Le Voyage d'Urien* was the only one to feature illustrations.

The year after the publication of Gide's *Le Voyage d'Urien* saw the publication of *Yvette Guilbert* (1894) by Gustave Geffroy, illustrated with lithographs by Toulouse-Lautrec and published by Marty's *l'Estampe originale* (fig.33). Buoyed by the financial and critical success of his print albums, Marty engaged in book publishing, using Toulouse-Lautrec to provide illustrations for Geffroy's text just as he did when the artist provided the cover image for his first and last print album editions. Marty had intended on publishing a series of texts on the popular café concert singers of Paris but this was the only volume completed.¹⁰³ The text by Geffroy uses the subject of the cabaret singer Yvette Guilbert as the setting-off point for his 'examination of the condition of her primary audience, the Parisian worker.'¹⁰⁴ Thus, Toulouse-Lautrec's lithographs, which depict Guilbert occupying the margin spaces on each page, are at times only indirectly related to the text on the page. As Riva Castleman has argued, Toulouse-Lautrec's lithographs change the function of the illustrations 'from depicting parts of a narration to enhancing it by providing his own vision of the subject – in this case, aspects of the daily life of the performer.'¹⁰⁵

Guilbert had been a favourite subject of Toulouse-Lautrec's and in his lithographs the figure of Guilbert begins to break away from the margins of the page and infringe upon the space occupied by the text. In the final page of the book, Guilbert is depicted in the act of taking a bow (fig.34). As she stoops to take her bow, with one hand holding onto the stage curtain, her head and shoulder appear to naturally break free from the margin. A sense of unity between the text and the lithographs is achieved through the subtly indented final paragraph, which is in line

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 18

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p.18

¹⁰² Ibid. p.18

¹⁰³ Castleman 1994, p.84.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p.84

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p.84

with her head, appearing almost to bend and make room. The notion of the illustration breaking loose from its traditional confines in order to interact with the printed text appears again, to greater dramatic effect, in Bonnard's *Parallèlement*. Both the text and Lautrec's lithographs were printed in olive green on square pages. The book was published in twenty-two unnumbered folios, in an edition of over one hundred, with approximately six texts published *hors commerce*. As curator Marilyn F. Symmes has noted, this book was seen as innovative in terms of book design due to its use of lithography, the interplay of text and image and the printing of both text and image in coloured ink.¹⁰⁶ These are innovations that would appear again and would be developed in the publishing of both Vollard and Kahnweiler, present from their first published editions.

There is no doubt, when considering the examples detailed above, that the decade immediately prior to the publication of *Parallèlement* witnessed a flourishing of arts periodicals, print albums and illustrated books whereby the boundaries between literature and the visual arts were broken down. It is equally apparent that these various forms of publishing owed much to the influential *poètes critiques* Baudelaire and Mallarmé as well as the artists Manet, Toulouse-Lautrec and Denis and that subsequent generations continued to show an interest in adapting and developing the synthesis of writing and art through publishing.

The first publishing ventures of Kahnweiler and Vollard took place within a period of intense activity in arts publishing in Paris. This contemporary culture of artists and writers interacting and working together socially and professionally, within the art-publishing world, was central to the gallerists' decision to publish *livres d'artiste*. In their early publications, both gallerists demonstrate an experimental approach that challenges the accepted forms and traditions of illustrated book publishing in France. It is clear that their publishing practice is shaped by the legacy of Manet, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and Apollinaire as well as the numerous periodicals and print albums published by their contemporaries. Vollard would demonstrate, in his first published book, a desire to further push the boundaries of lithography and the role of illustration within the book. Kahnweiler would adopt a similarly experimental and daring approach as many of the periodicals operating at this time in terms of giving authors their first opportunity to have their work published. He too demonstrated a desire to challenge the

¹⁰⁶ Marilyn F. Symmes, 'Illustrated Books at the Toledo Museum of Art', *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, Vol. 7, Illustrated Book Theme Issue (Winter, 1988) p.55

accepted purpose of illustration and thus the traditional form and function of the illustrated book. Both Vollard and Kahnweiler, at the time of their first published books, were operating within the febrile atmosphere that characterised publishing and printing within the arts and literature. Both gallerists would go on to publish influential illustrated books within the first decade of the twentieth century and, in doing so, would establish a precedent and a standard against which future gallerists would be held.

Conclusion

The beginning of the twentieth century in Paris was a foundational moment for gallery publishing. Vollard and Kahnweiler established the gallerist as a major source of arts publishing, producing illustrated books of a high quality and in significant numbers. Their publications represent the illustrative work of some of the foremost artists of the twentieth century, often at a time when their work was largely unknown or unappreciated. In the case of Picasso's illustrative etchings for Kahnweiler, this would be the first time that Cubist prints were published. The publication, therefore, offers the chance to make the art that Kahnweiler championed more mainstream while also invariably aligning the gallerist with the new movement. Kahnweiler and Vollard published books to build a brand associated with quality and with the work of the foremost artists and poets of the age, emphasising their position at the heart of the contemporary art market. They also published out of a vital necessity to be a part of the wider publishing sphere of prints, posters and periodicals that utilised advances in printing technology.

Between them, Vollard and Kahnweiler produced over fifty finely illustrated books ranging from classical texts to contemporary poetry. Upon searching for precursors and inspirations for their publishing practice, there are clear similarities between the steps taken in works such as *Le Voyage d'Urien* and *Yvette Guilbert* but more so in the wider culture of arts publishing taking place at the time. The boom in the production of arts periodicals at the end of the nineteenth century was testament to the successful integration of contemporary art and poetry in the form of the publication. As can be seen by examining their publishing output, this had more of an effect on Kahnweiler than Vollard, whose choice of texts was always more conservative than his colleague's. Kahnweiler, instead, opted to represent the work of poets as sympathetically as possible by combining it with the visual output of artists who echoed their philosophical concerns. Nevertheless, publications such as *La Plume* and *La Revue blanche* were obvious and readily available examples of the ways in which new printing technology such as colour lithography could successfully reproduce visual art in a way that had been impossible previously.

The similar boom in the publishing of print albums, in which Vollard readily participated, was another means by which the dealers could witness the careful production of original print works by artisans who were at the forefront of the printing field. This can have only reassured both men that their publishing output

could be of a similarly high quality. It seems almost inevitable, considering the culture of arts publishing at this time as well as the dealers' place at the centre of the art market, that they would turn to publishing books featuring the illustrative work of their respective artists. Both the galleries of Vollard and Kahnweiler were a locus for social interaction between contemporary artists and poets and, again, this seems to have influenced Kahnweiler more than Vollard. Both men, however, were meticulous in their managing of relationships between authors, artists and printmakers, all essential components of finely illustrated books. Vollard demonstrated a desire to continually innovate and experiment with new forms, artists and texts, as did Kahnweiler, whose selection of contemporary texts was always daring.

From the time of their first publications in the first decade of the twentieth century, therefore, one can see in their illustrated books a desire to challenge and innovate the accepted practices of book publishing. After Vollard and Kahnweiler, the precedent was set for the gallerist to be a respected publisher of finely produced books. The standard of work exhibited in books such as *Parallèlement* and *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* was enough to establish their reputations as meticulous book publishers but their continued output over decades has ensured that their roles as gallerists and publishers have become inextricably linked. In examining the history of the form and function of gallery publishing over the course of the last century, it is the figures of Vollard and Kahnweiler, and their publishing output that acts as a foundation upon which future developments were constructed. In the publications that they produced from the beginning of the century onwards they demonstrated that there was no one accepted method of gallery publishing; that rather, the publishing practice of gallerists would be defined by an experimental approach that constantly sought to expand the formal possibilities of the book while maintaining an exacting standard over all conditions of its production.

Chapter Two

Publishing Surrealism: reviewing the role of Jeanne Bucher as practitioner, publisher and promoter of Surrealist collaborative books, 1925 – 1946

Jeanne Bucher (1872 – 1946) opened her gallery-bookshop at 3 rue du Cherche-midi in the 6th arrondissement of Paris in 1925. In the same year, she published her first book, *Baroques* (1925), comprising ten facsimiles of watercolours by the artist Jean Lurçat. By the time of her death, in 1946, she had published twenty-eight books under the imprint Éditions Jeanne Bucher in collaboration with artists and poets including Joan Miró, Paul Éluard, Man Ray, Georges Hugnet and Max Ernst. Despite these collaborations and with a publishing oeuvre that includes books such as *Histoire Naturelle* (1926), *Une semaine de bonté* (1934), and *Les Mains Libres* (1937), Bucher features as little more than a footnote in histories of Surrealist publishing. Aside from exhibitions and related catalogues by, or in collaboration with, Galerie Jeanne Bucher Jaeger, there has been no scholarly account dedicated to Bucher's role as a gallerist-publisher or her significance within Surrealist publishing.¹ This chapter focuses on the books published by Éditions Jeanne Bucher between 1925 and 1946, in order to demonstrate Bucher's sustained, significant contribution to Surrealist publishing practices. By analysing selected examples of Bucher's diverse range of publications, I argue that Bucher's books fostered and disseminated Surrealist collaborative artistic practice and challenged the

¹ Bucher appears a handful of times in Renée Riese Hubert's *Surrealism and the Book* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1988) but only as a passing reference to her role as both a gallerist and publisher. Perhaps understandably, Hubert focuses on the collaborative relationships between Surrealist artists and poets rather than the role of the publisher. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss Bucher's role as a female publisher and a similar lack of representation within scholarship on the role of women within the Surrealist movement. While I argue that Bucher's role as both gallerist and publisher within Surrealism has been overlooked, when considering the wider role of women in Surrealism it is useful to distinguish the case of Bucher from that of female Surrealist artists whose artistic production was ignored or undervalued by their male colleagues and within the art historical canon. Bucher, in her role as a gallerist and publisher, was actively sought for professional collaboration by both male and female Surrealist artists and poets. It is the case, however, that in the decades following her death, Bucher's significance in the dual role of gallerist and publisher has been underexplored in scholarship on Surrealist artist's books specifically and in exhibition and publishing histories more generally.

conventions of art book publishing, in particular the forms of the artists' novel and the *livre d'artiste*, of the early twentieth century.

Bucher came to a career as a gallerist-publisher at the age of fifty-three but throughout her professional life she had displayed a keen interest in both collecting art and publishing books. Bucher was born in the Alsatian town of Guebwiller in 1872. She married the Swiss pianist Fritz Blumer in 1895 and had two daughters, Eve and Sybille. After a failed affair with the poet Charles Guérin, Bucher left Alsace for Switzerland where she translated the work of Strindberg and Rilke, among others, from German to French. Bucher also worked at the Public and University Library of Geneva before leaving Switzerland for Paris in 1922. When she arrived in Paris, Bucher founded the *Librairie étrangère* as a foreign bookshop and publishing house. At the same time she was one of the co-founders, along with friends including Lurçat and the architect and designer Pierre Chareau, of *L'OEil clair*, a group dedicated to collecting art by young artists. In 1925, Bucher opened her gallery in the rue du Cherche-midi and, while her premises changed a number of times over the following two decades; her fortunes fluctuated; her business was interrupted by war; and living under the German Occupation of Paris, Bucher never wavered in her commitment to promoting and publishing avant-garde art.

In this chapter I offer an analysis of Max Ernst's collage-novel *Une semaine de bonté*, published by Éditions Jeanne Bucher in 1934, that focuses on the role of the archetypal character of the flâneur and the importance of an identifiably Parisian metropolitan setting in the artists' novel. I argue that these previously overlooked narrative elements of literary flânerie and the Surrealist 'Paris novel' in Ernst's book reveal a synergy between the content of the book and the medium of collage. Specifically, I contend that literary tropes of flânerie appear in the collage-novel as manifestations of Surrealist automatism and so visually evoke the practice of collage itself. Ernst's book is one of the most visually arresting and beautiful examples of Surrealist publishing but how should one go about reading a visual novel with neither words nor identifiably cohesive plot? I argue that in his layering of multiple narratives and drawing on literary tropes of flânerie, Ernst produces a novel that exemplifies the Surrealist dedication to the free flow of unconscious thought while remaining tethered to a recognisable reality. I also set out what the implications of this interpretation of *Une semaine de bonté* are by suggesting that the uncanny experience of reading the book is heightened and, further, that in terms of the history of art publishing, the book represents a significant innovation of the format of the artists' novel.

In the second half of this chapter, I analyse Bucher as publisher within the wider context of the role and depiction of women within the Surrealist movement. In doing so, I also offer an account of my practical research experience of curating an exhibition of Bucher's publications at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art. I examine Bucher's role as a publisher of books that were almost always created as collaborative works between male artists and poets alongside wider appraisals of female agency within Surrealist scholarship. I argue that Bucher, like many female Surrealist artists and writers previously, has been overlooked as a significant participant in the history of Surrealist publishing. I draw on established and recent texts on women within Surrealism to demonstrate that, even within this discourse, Bucher has remained underexplored. I also detail my own curatorial approach to addressing this imbalance in the role of Bucher within wider Surrealist publishing. The overriding concern of both my research and curatorial practice was to evaluate the ways in which Bucher's role as a gallerist and publisher overlapped and challenged the prevailing notions surrounding women in Surrealism. I consider the diversity of Bucher's publications, assess their innovative nature and explore the notion of Bucher's books as works of Surrealist collaboration and exchange. In doing so, I argue that Bucher's publishing practice helped shape Surrealist artists' critical engagement and experimentation with the book and represents a major contribution to the history of art publishing in the twentieth century.

I: Reading the Uncanny City: Surrealist flânerie, Parisian topography and the collaged streetscape in *Une semaine de bonté* (1934)

Une semaine de bonté is the third of Ernst's collage-novels after *La Femme 100 têtes* (1929) and *Rêve d'une petite fille qui voulut entrer au carmel* (1930). Unlike his previous collage-novels and collaborations, however, no text appears within *Une semaine de bonté* aside from the title pages of each volume. The collage-novel comprises 182 collages, depicting an imagined seven days across five volumes. Ernst completed the collages in three weeks while visiting the Italian town of Vigoleno. The five volumes were published in an edition of 816, across three print runs, by Éditions Jeanne Bucher in 1934. Volumes one and two, *Dimanche* and *Lundi*, were published on 15 and 16 April respectively. Volumes three and four, *Mardi* and *Mercredi*, were published on 2 July and the final volume, encompassing *Jeudi*, *Vendredi* and *Samedi*, was published on 1 December. Although originally intended to span seven individual volumes, the final three were amalgamated into one following poor sales and lack of funds for the project. The individual volumes are as follows: *Premier cahier: Dimanche, Élément: La boue, Exemple: Le lion de Belfort*; *Deuxième cahier: Lundi, Élément: L'eau, Exemple: L'eau*; *Troisième cahier: Mardi, Élément: Le Feu, Exemple: La cour du Dragon*; *Quatrième cahier: Mercredi, Élément: Le sang, Exemple: Œdipe*; *Dernier cahier: Jeudi, Élément: Le noir, Exemples: Le rire du coq, L'île de Pâques*; *Vendredi, Élément: La vue, Exemple: L'intérieur de la vue*; *Samedi, Élément: Inconnu, Exemple: La clé des chants* (fig.1). Across the five volumes, multiple characters, many depicted with the heads of various animals, encounter a disorienting series of misadventures, often culminating in murder, suicide or execution.

The title *Une semaine de bonté*, 'A week of goodness', is ironic considering the macabre events that take place across the seven days. The art historian Werner Spies has noted the title's reference to the week of genesis and that Ernst has upended the order of creation by beginning his week on a Sunday.² The title is also a reference to the mutual aid society *La Semaine de la Bonté* that was established in Paris in 1927 by Isabelle Mallet.³ Such societies provided aid to the elderly and infirm, the impoverished, and prisoners. The society was well known in Paris thanks to frequent newspaper advertisements, concerts, lectures and celebrity-

² Werner Spies, *Max Ernst: Une semaine de bonté: Les collages originaux*, (Paris and Madrid, 2009) p.364

³ Julia Drost, *Max Ernst: Dream and Revolution*, W.Spies, I. Müller-Westermann, K. Degel (eds.) (Ostfildern, 2008) p.217

sponsored events such as a flower sale at Gare Saint-Lazare featuring the actresses and singers Josephine Baker and Damia (fig.2) and so the title would have been immediately recognisable to those purchasing the book. The society espoused a worldview of Christian charity and love for mankind that is lampooned in the book's full title *Une semaine de bonté ou les sept elements capitaux*, with the seven capital elements or deadly elements being an obvious play on the seven deadly sins. Ernst's evocation of the well-known charitable society is indicative of a dark humour at the heart of the work and gestures toward the uncanny blend of the familiar among the strange that is a recurring theme in the book.

The critic and curator Robert Storr referred to *Une semaine de bonté* as an 'exercise in deliberate anachronism'.⁴ Storr refers to Ernst's use of woodcut illustrations as opposed to photography, as well as the collage-novel's apparent setting around the late nineteenth-century. Ernst's favoured source material for the collage scenes were also the anachronistic engravings from melodramatic nineteenth-century popular fiction, scientific journals, natural history magazines and encyclopaedias. As in his earlier collage novels, he transformed the plates into a series of disturbing and disorienting images through the addition of a few alien elements. It is this fusion of the strange among the ordinary that Freud defined as *unheimlich* or uncanny, in his essay, *Das Unheimlich* (1919). The *unheimlich* is 'that class of frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar'.⁵ Elza Adamowicz argues that Ernst's use of repetition in the series of collage scenes is a structuring device that produces an effect similar to the uncanny, in which 'the familiar and the unknown cohabit uneasily'.⁶ I argue that these are not the only elements of the *unheimlich* fusion of the familiar and strange within the collage-novel as Ernst includes and manipulates references to identifiable places and individuals throughout the work. Historical figures, Parisian locations and socio-literary archetypes appear in monstrous guises and commit heinous acts that simultaneously ground the collage-novel in a recognisably Parisian setting while rendering that setting otherworldly, thus creating the effect of the uncanny.

Spies has extensively documented the sources of the collages that Ernst used to create these scenes and has identified specific sources including *Martyre!*

⁴ Robert Storr, 'Past Imperfect, Present Conditional' in *Max Ernst: a retrospective* (New York, 2005), p.51

⁵ Sigmund Freud, 'Das Unheimlich', (1919), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. 17*, (London, 2001) p.220

⁶ Elza Adamowicz, *Surrealist Collage in Text and Image*, (Cambridge, 1998) p.116

by Adolphe Alphonse d'Ennery, published in Paris in 1886, as well as Jules Mary's *Les Damnées de Paris* and Gustave Doré's illustrations for Milton's *Paradise Lost* (fig.3).⁷ Spies has also pointed out that the structure of the collage-novel across five volumes and its staggered print runs are references to the popular nineteenth-century serial novel.⁸ Unlike these traditional novels, however, there is no one central character throughout, nor is there a discernable plot across all seven days. The reader instead follows the travails of shifting protagonists in each volume; the Lion of Belfort, the Laughing Cockerel, the bird-headed Oedipus and others in a multi-layered narrative that subverts novelistic conventions of character and plot development. Adamowicz also writes that these 'micro-narrative sequences' would have been familiar to readers from the structure of melodramatic novels.⁹ Adamowicz argues that Ernst draws on multiple narrative codes that frustrate cohesive interpretive strategies.¹⁰ While Adamowicz's focus is on melodrama, other narrative codes that Ernst draws on include the historical novel, classical myth and the gothic novel.¹¹ My argument does not challenge this point nor do I suggest that my analysis of the narrative codes associated with the archetype of the flâneur and literary flânerie should supplant accounts of the undoubted influences of the gothic and melodramatic novel in the work. This 'totalizing account' approach, as Adamowicz refers to M.E. Warlick's alchemical interpretation of the work, is not my intention here.¹² Instead, I position my interpretation alongside the multiple layers of narrative influence within the collage-novel as an additional, and as yet unexplored, narrative code that Ernst appeals to and manipulates. I argue, however, that the narrative code of literary flânerie is more significant in regards to the collage-novel format in the links it forges between flânerie, Surrealist strategies of automatism and thus the medium of collage. Moreover, the flâneur's connection to the feuilleton style, satire, social criticism and documenting criminality, suggest a level of narrative cohesion in the work that transcends the individual micro-narratives of each volume but without offering a singular interpretive strategy for the reader.

⁷ Spies 2009, p.370

⁸ Ibid. p.370

⁹ Adamowicz 1998, p.115

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 112

¹¹ Ibid. p.114

¹² Ibid. p.124 (see M.E. Warlick, 'Max Ernst's Alchemical Novel: Une semaine de bonté', *Art Journal* 46 (Spring 1987) pp.61-73)

I.I: Lions real and figurative:

The Lion of Belfort is the first protagonist encountered by the reader in the first volume of *Une semaine de bonté* and the first iteration of the flâneur in the book (fig.4). Ernst's week of goodness begins on Sunday with the *Premier cahier: Dimanche, Élément: La boue, Exemple: Le lion de Belfort*. Connections between the subtitle elements and examples are not always obvious. In this case, the element of mud may be connected to its example by reference to the site of the monumental statue, *Le lion de Belfort*, hewn out of red sandstone in a hill overlooking the town of Belfort in Alsace (fig.5). The statue, created by Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi in 1880, commemorates the resilience of the soldiers and citizens of the small town in surviving the 103-day siege of Belfort in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war. The direct reference to such an obvious symbol of French fortitude and patriotism is apt at a time of political unease in relations between France and Germany with the rise of the National Socialist government in Ernst's native land. This reference to France and Germany's bellicose past in the first volume may also be an element of dark humour on Ernst's part, referring to his own incursion into the artistic circles of Paris.

The Lion of Belfort was also a reference to an individual, the Colonel Denfert-Rochereau who was the commander stationed at the town during the siege and led his garrison of 3,500 soldiers against 40,000 Prussians (fig.6). The statue, therefore, was as much a commemoration of his individual bravery as that of the townsfolk. This connection to a French war hero of the previous century explains the military uniform worn by the lion-headed protagonist in the first scene of the novel. The references to both the statue and the man it honoured would have been especially familiar to Parisians reading the collage-novel as a smaller version of the statue was situated in the centre of the Place Denfert-Rochereau in the 14th arrondissement, in the Montparnasse area of the city (fig.7). This Parisian version of the statue features in two of the final scenes of the first volume. In the third-to-last scene, the statue on its plinth appears in the background as the protagonist flees to the countryside. In the penultimate scene, two versions of the statue appear to sit on their plinths atop billiard tables (fig.8). The manner in which the lions are posed identifies them as reproductions of Bartholdi's statue and differentiates them from the other, more naturalistic, renderings of lions that share the scene. The Place Denfert-Rochereau was also the site of the entrance to the Paris catacombs. Previously, the square had been called Place D'Enfer, 'Hell Square', and

so the square's current and previous names offered a homonymous joke as well as having an obvious religious connotation in keeping with the book's title. This is the first clear link from a protagonist in the book to an identifiable individual and place in Paris but the character of the lion and lion-headed men had other social and literary connotations.

The term 'lion' also served in Parisian parlance as a term for a dandy or flâneur. In her book *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, Miranda Gill writes that the Parisian term 'lion' was connected with 'fashionable eccentricity' during the years of the July Monarchy: 'A men's fashion magazine first published in 1842 was entitled *Le Lion*, on the grounds that this figure was the ultimate expression and model of the fashionable society gentleman'.¹³ She notes that it was also the term for a ruffian and gadabout that had originated in Regency England. As well as the nineteenth-century fashion magazine, the flâneur archetype in its many iterations was a common feature of the *physiologie*, 'a moderately priced small book aimed at petit-bourgeois and bourgeois readers and often sold directly on the street.'¹⁴ The *physiologie* offered a humorous take on different aspects of Parisian city life and social types, including the *Physiologie du Lion* (1842) by Félix Deriège, and was very popular between 1830 – 1845.¹⁵ Just as *Une semaine de bonté* borrows from the style and appearance of nineteenth-century literature by mimicking the format of the serial novel and the use of woodcut illustrations, so too does Ernst draw from nineteenth-century Parisian literary archetypes in his depiction of the 'lion' or flâneur as the book's first protagonist.

The Parisian caricaturist Jean-Jacques Grandville often depicted social types in the form of illustrations of men with the heads of animals. Notable among his work was *Les Métamorphoses du jour* (1828–29), a series of seventy lithographs of animal-headed men in various comedic scenes. The Lion of Belfort or the bird-headed figures from the later volumes *Oedipe* and *La rire du coq* therefore fall within a tradition of the animal-headed protagonist popular a century earlier. Ernst's book, in its dark humour and blend of the sacred and the profane sits comfortably within this satirical tradition. Significantly, Grandville also depicted the Parisian 'lion' as a fashionably-dressed man, with a top hat, cane and cigar, and

¹³ Miranda Gill, *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, (Oxford, 2009) p.77

¹⁴ Ibid. p.72

¹⁵ Ibid. p.72

with the head of a lion (fig.9). The lion is accompanied by his diminutive and similarly leonine page. Links between the lion-headed figures in *Une semaine de bonté* and Grandville's animal-headed characters have been made previously. In the publisher's note to the Dover Publications edition of the book, Grandville is noted as Ernst's 'most illustrious predecessor in the creation of animal-men [...] much revered by the Surrealists'¹⁶ Spies has written that it was Ernst's great respect for Grandville that prevented him from amending the caricaturist's drawings in the construction of his own collage works.¹⁷ Ernst, like Grandville, takes the archetype to its absurd conclusion and so the lion of the Paris streets is transfigured and has the head of an actual lion. Aside from this surface comparison, there has been no further account of the significance of Ernst drawing from the satirical meanings behind Grandville's illustrations. The flâneur in his various guises, however, was more than an archetypal figure of fashion; rather the flâneur's idiosyncratic self-fashioning, his idling and his observation of modern city life were associated with characteristics of independent thought, eccentricity and of a resistance to societal norms.

In his essay *The Painter of Modern Life* (1860), Baudelaire codifies the nature of the flâneur and dandy as socio-political beast, explaining that dandyism is, 'above all, the burning desire to create a personal form of originality within the external limits of social conventions [...] it is the pleasure of causing surprise in others and the proud satisfaction of never showing any one self.'¹⁸ The dandy is driven by a 'characteristic of opposition and revolt [...] to combat and destroy triviality.'¹⁹ The socio-political situation in Paris between the wars, *les années folles*, created the perfect conditions for a flourishing of flânerie in the city given that dandyism, as Baudelaire conceived it, appears especially in 'periods of transition' and that it is the 'last flicker of heroism in decadent ages.'²⁰ The Baudelairean flâneur operates on the fringes of social acceptability, strives for originality, relishes an opportunity to shock and has a multi-faceted character. This last element is taken literally in *Une semaine de bonté* in that the 'lion' or flâneur

¹⁶ Publisher's Note, *Une semaine de bonté: A Surrealistic Novel in Collage*, (New York: Dover Publications Ltd, 1976) p.vi

¹⁷ Spies 2009, p. 373

¹⁸ Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', *Baudelaire: Selected Writings on Art and Artists* (trans. P. E. Charvet) (Cambridge and New York, 1972) p.420

¹⁹ Ibid. p.421

²⁰ Ibid. p.421

appears again in later volumes but with his lion-head substituted for that of various animals and statues.

In the fourth volume, *Œdipe*, the bird-headed protagonist is cast out of the family home to wander the streets alone (fig.10). It is on the streets that he has a series of chance encounters of spiralling misfortune. In the fifth volume, the first example of the *Jeudi* section depicts cockerel-headed men as they engage in abduction, grave-robbing and murder, ending with a scene of the cockerel-men on a Paris rooftop, raising the tricolore with the towers of Notre Dame visible in the background (fig.11). In the second example, a well-dressed man with the head of a Moai statue admires himself in a hand-mirror before leaving home and becoming embroiled in a *ménage-à-trois* and descending into drunkenness, degeneracy and finally madness (fig.12). Just like their predecessor, the lion of Belfort, whose fate was sealed when he left behind his bourgeois militaristic comforts to take to the city streets; these animal-men encounter their fate on the city streets and lapse into a series of misfortunes, ending in the deaths of multiple characters. At times the flâneur appears well-dressed, in other scenes he appears as ruffian but in all iterations he is depicted as an idler, observer and man of the streets, well in-keeping with the historical portrayals of the archetype as conceived by Baudelaire in the previous century. The reader must choose whether to interpret these as different versions of the same character in a constant state of metamorphosis or a series of different characters of the same type. Baudelaire's conception of the flâneur was as a figure that had no fixed identity but who, rather, wore a series of different masks depending on his inclination. Whether one metamorphosing character or multiple, the recurring character-type offers a degree of continuity in the confusing series of collaged scenes. When Ernst appeals to the visual signifiers of the flâneur or dandy and lion he also calls on, and situates his book within, this greater social and literary tradition of the dandy as avant-garde figure of revolt.

I:II The Surrealist Flâneur:

Ernst's engagement with the archetypal flâneur and with the city of Paris in *Une semaine de bonté* was very much in keeping with the literary work of his fellow Surrealists. Flânerie and tales of chance encounters in the city streets and public spaces of Paris were at the heart of novels by both André Breton and Louis Aragon. Breton had railed against the staid format of the novel in the *First Surrealist Manifesto* (1924), lamenting its 'Purely informative style' and comparing the

tendency of the contemporary novelist to overly rely on description as being equivalent to 'so many superimposed images taken from some stock catalogue.'²¹ Despite this, Breton accepted that the novel format had the potential to present the reader with glimpses of the marvellous and cites an example in Matthew Gregory Lewis's gothic novel *The Monk* (1796).²² Breton's own novel, *Nadja*, was published in 1928, opening with the author asking of the reader 'Who am I?'²³ The semi-autobiographical novel recounts Breton's short-lived infatuation over the course of ten days with a woman, Nadja, whom he first encounters by chance on the street. The novel casts Breton as a flâneur, wandering the streets of Paris:

Meanwhile you can be sure of meeting me in Paris, of not spending more than three days without seeing me pass, toward the end of the afternoon, along the Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle between the *Matin* printing office and the Boulevard du Strasbourg. I don't know why it should be precisely here that my feet take me, here that I almost invariably go without specific purpose, without anything to induce me but this obscure clue: namely that it (?) will happen here.²⁴

Breton's wandering is regular but aimless, aside from his desire to find the ineffable spark that comes from chance encounters and strange coincidences. The streets of Paris evidently satisfy Breton's desire for such encounters as he coincidentally meets Paul Éluard, Benjamin Péret and a woman at a flea market who has read Aragon's *Le Paysan de Paris*. These aimless wanderings that result in the spark of coincidental meetings suggest that flânerie is the ambulatory answer to the call for automatism in Breton's First Surrealist Manifesto:

SURREALISM, n. Psychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express – verbally, by means of the written word, or in any other manner – the actual functioning of thought.²⁵

Breton's further definition of Surrealism as the 'disinterested play of thought', suggests that the wandering and observation inherent to flânerie make it a quintessentially Surrealist practice.

²¹ André Breton, 'Manifesto of Surrealism', (1924), *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, (Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane trans.), (Ann Arbor, 1972), p.7

²² Ibid. p.14

²³ André Breton, *Nadja*, (London, 1999) p.11

²⁴ Ibid. p.32

²⁵ Breton, 1924 p.26

Each of the street meetings that take place in the first part of the book build to the narrator's encounter with the titular Nadja and much of the time that they spend together is spent wandering the streets. Breton describes his first encounter with Nadja:

Last October fourth, toward the end of one of those idle, gloomy afternoons I know so well how to spend, I happened to be in the Rue Lafayette: after stopping a few minutes at the stall outside the *Humanité* bookstore and buying Trotsky's latest work, I continued aimlessly in the direction of the Opéra. The offices and workshops were beginning to empty out from top to bottom of the buildings, doors were closing, people on the sidewalk were shaking hands, and already there were more people in the street now, I unconsciously watched their faces, their clothes, their way of walking. No, it was not yet these who would be ready to create the Revolution. I had just crossed an intersection whose name I don't know, in front of a church. Suddenly, perhaps still ten feet away, I saw a young, poorly dressed woman walking toward me, she had noticed me too, or perhaps had been watching me for several moments. She carried her head high, unlike everyone else on the sidewalk.²⁶

Nadja is striking particularly because of her obvious difference to the crowd on the street that Breton finds disappointing in its banality. Nadja walks with her head held high despite her poor appearance. Like Breton, Nadja is also engaging in *flânerie* as she wanders the streets aimlessly. She tells Breton initially that she was on her way to the Boulevard Magenta for a hair appointment but later admits that she was going nowhere in particular.²⁷ Breton realises that she may have been observing him before he noticed her.

As they spend time together over the ensuing days, Breton is keen to assure the reader that the chance events he recounts are grounded in truth. On one occasion, Nadja predicts that a darkened window will light up red and moments later it does. Breton first recounts this experience before parenthetically addressing the reader:

I am sorry, but I am unable to do anything about the fact that this may exceed the limits of credibility. Nevertheless, in dealing with such a subject, I should never forgive myself for taking sides: I confine myself to *granting* that this window, being black, has now become red, and that is all.²⁸

²⁶ Breton 1999, p.63- 64

²⁷ Ibid, p.65

²⁸ Ibid., p.83

The ten days of Breton's acquaintance with the mysterious Nadjia are written of in great detail. In particular, he references the streets and places of the city in which they meet and walk together. They pass the Sphinx-Hôtel on the Boulevard Magenta, dine in a café on the Boulevard des Batignolles and in a restaurant on the Quai Malaquais. The reader, if he or she wished, could follow the path of Breton and Nadjia's doomed affair using the book as guide to the streets of Paris. These descriptions are complemented by the photographs of Jacques-André Boiffard of individuals and places mentioned in the book. The photographs include the Humanité bookstore, the Hôtel des Grands Hommes in the Place du Panthéon and the Place Maubert. The documentary nature of the photographs serve to ground Breton's tale in the everyday reality of contemporary Paris. In his book, *City Gorged With Dreams: Surrealism and documentary photography in interwar Paris*, Ian Walker notes the importance of recognisable streets and places in Paris in the novel:

[...] the images of Paris have a cumulative effect so that one comes to see in the book not only an account of a love-affair, of the dual trajectories of a disturbed woman and an avant-garde writer, but also an account of the city in which their meeting takes place. Paris, one might say, is itself a character in the book. But it is a curious view of the city we are given, with a few somewhat well-known sites outnumbered by obscure corners, shops, hotels, cafés.²⁹

Breton eschews either visual or verbal depictions of the city's more notable sites; the Panthéon, the Louvre, the Arc de Triomphe. Instead the reader is presented with the everyday sites of his walking; sites that have an emotional resonance for the author. This is in keeping with the link between automatism and flânerie in which the narrative of the tale is decided not through conscious thought but through chance wandering. Such idleness leads to an idiosyncratic view of Paris that is entirely personal to the flâneur.

Aragon's novel *Le Paysan de Paris*, published by Éditions Gallimard in 1926, also focuses on two areas of Paris in great detail: the Passage de l'Opéra and the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont. Aragon's novel is, like Breton's, semi-autobiographical and based on the reality of contemporary Paris life. The novel is filled with highly detailed descriptions of shopkeepers and their wares, of cafés and their menus, and

²⁹ Ian Walker, *City Gorged With Dreams: Surrealism and documentary photography in interwar Paris*, (Manchester and New York, 2002), p.53

so provides a realistic backdrop that only serves to make moments of fantastical, Surrealist spectacle all the more alien. One such moment occurs when Aragon, drunk and in the Passage in the evening witnesses a siren swimming in the window of a cane shop. He recognises her as a prostitute he encountered during the occupation of the Rhineland before the window display 'was seized by a general convulsion' and returns to normal.³⁰ Ernst plays with similar juxtapositions by placing a Sphinx outside a standard railway coach in *Oedipe* (fig.13). Attempts at interpreting the narrative are frustrated by the appeal to both the mundane and the mythical with no effective resolution offered within the pages of the book.

The Passage, specifically the Café Certa was a favourite haunt of the Paris Dadaists and later the Surrealists. The Passage was shabby and tired-looking and had historically been the 'low-life rendezvous of Opera sycophants, bit actors and stagehands, as well as dandies, evening adventurers, and casual prostitutes of all regimes, 1821 – 1873.'³¹ This seedy underbelly was under threat of being swept away, however, in favour of the sanitised, light-filled boulevards of Haussmann's grand design, specifically the Boulevard that bore his name. Referring to the Boulevard Haussmann's expansion and its threat to the Passage, Aragon wrote:

A few more paces forward by this giant rodent and, after it has devoured the block of houses separating it from the Rue Le Peletier, it will inexorably gash open the thicket whose twin arcades run through the Passage de l'Opéra, before finally emerging diagonally onto the Boulevard des Italiens. It will unite itself to that broad avenue somewhere near where the Café Louis XVI now stands, with a singular kind of kiss whose cumulative effect on the vast body of Paris is quite unpredictable.³²

Aragon's prediction was proved correct and the Passage de l'Opéra was demolished to make way for the encroaching 'rodent' of the boulevard. Both the Passage de l'Opéra and the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont represent the effects of Baron Haussmann's grand renovation of Paris, begun in 1853 under Napoleon III. The Buttes-Chaumont was created on the site of a former quarry and the Passage de l'Opéra now faced its destruction by the Boulevard Haussmann. Thus, what Haussmann had begun in the middle of the previous century was still being enacted

³⁰ Louis Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, (Boston, 1994) p.22

³¹ Robin Walz, *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Paris*, (Berkeley, 2000) p.21

³² Aragon 1994 p.14

in the 1920s. Moreover, the modernisation of Paris was directly felt by the Surrealists whose favoured spaces were no more.

I:III The Spaces of Surrealist Flânerie:

In *La Cour du Dragon*, the third volume of *Une semaine de bonté*, Ernst presents the reader with the most obvious and direct reference to a location in Paris and one heavily associated with Surrealist flânerie. The Cour du Dragon was, like the Passage de l'Opéra, an ambiguous city space; both public and private, interior and exterior (fig.14). The first four scenes of this volume take place in the Cour du Dragon and surrounding streets. The volume opens at a scene on the Rue Taranne, where an ominous dark, flying shape hovers over the unaware pedestrians and a naked man crawls into the path on an oncoming cab (fig.15). The bell tower of Saint Germain des Prés identifies the location as the rue Taranne. The street ran perpendicular to the rue du Dragon and parallel to the Cour du Dragon. The following scene appears to take place only moments later as the naked man now makes his way down the rue Taranne. A bearded man binds his hands behind his back while a woman looks on and an older man drops to his knees in the street in a gesture of supplication (fig.16). The prominent inclusion of the rue Taranne dates the scene to before the street's destruction in 1866 when the rue de Rennes was extended to meet the boulevard Saint-Germain. The street was enveloped by the boulevard Saint-Germain, itself the most obvious effect of Haussmann's renovation of Paris on the Left Bank.

The third scene shifts the narrative the short distance from the rue de Rennes to the entrance of the Cour du Dragon. The dragon statue that gave the courtyard its name appears to have come to life and slithers up by the entrance gate. A man dressed in Turkish garb speaks with a concierge who appears to have no knowledge of the tail appearing from under the man's clothes (fig.17). In the fourth scene a bat-winged woman in a black dress enters a door in the courtyard and in the following scenes makes her way up the apartment-block staircase to the plush bourgeois salons above (fig.18). The scenes that follow in this volume are implied, by the visual cues of the first four scenes, to take place in rooms within the Cour du Dragon. Beneath the bourgeois veneer of rectitude that keeps the characters of this volume in such relative comfort, they scheme and spy and indulge in secret assignations. The revelation of a darker truth behind the bourgeois domestic scenes by Ernst conjures another iteration of the Freudian

uncanny that is the act of revealing something that ought to have remained hidden.³³ Not only are these scenes uncanny in terms of their content but also in the act of revelation itself. That act is then transferred from Ernst to the reader as he or she turns the page and progresses through the series of scenes, revealing and making the private scenes public. The courtyard, again like the Passage de l'Opéra, was a space under threat of civic modernisation. Following the rue Taranne's amalgamation into the boulevard Saint-Germain, the courtyard itself would disappear in 1935.

In his extensive analysis of Ernst's collage work, Spies argues that the importance of Parisian topography, central to the novels of Breton and Aragon, applies 'only conditionally to Max Ernst and not at all to his collage-novels.'³⁴ Referencing the appearance of the Cour du Dragon in *Une semaine de bonté*, Spies suggests that its importance should not be overrated. While Ernst does not deploy references to Paris in *Une semaine de bonté* with the frequency of Breton in *Nadja*, those visual references he does make, directly to the Cour du Dragon, the rue Taranne and Notre Dame and indirectly to the Place Denfert-Rochereau, are no less important in terms of localising the narrative to a specifically Parisian metropolis. Spies writes that photographs of Paris used by Breton in *Nadja* have 'no intrinsic artistic value. Their purpose is strictly functional – to underline the author's personal experience.'³⁵ In this respect, I would also argue that Ernst's use of Parisian references reflects the author's personal experience but that more important than this is the effect of a recognisable Parisian topography on the

³³ Freud 1919, In his essay on the uncanny, Freud reproduces in full the entry for the word *heimlich* found in Daniel Sanders's *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* (1860) before attempting to extract a consistent meaning of *unheimlich*. The two main definitions of the word *heimlich* suggest the existence of two complimentary definitions of *unheimlich*. The first of these definitions is the more common, that *heimlich* means 'belonging to the house, not strange, familiar, tame, intimate, friendly.' (p.222) In this respect the term can be applied to personal relationships, suggesting a familial closeness. One of the examples listed is that of the housewife 'who knows how to make a pleasing *Heimlichkeit* (*Häuslichkeit* [domesticity]) out of the smallest means'. (p.222) In this definition, *heimlich* means homely but also equates to all that is comforting, familiar and safe. Conversely then, one can gather that in this context *unheimlich* means un-homely, uncomfortable, unfamiliar, unsafe and wild. The second, less common, definition of *heimlich* is that it means 'concealed, kept from sight, so that others do not get to know of or about it, withheld from others.' (p.223) In this second definition of the term *heimlich* Freud takes its opposite, *unheimlich*, as 'the name for everything that ought to have remained...secret and hidden but has come to light.' (p.224) While Freud uses literary examples, the act of revelation in *Une semaine de bonté* is visual and one that is reliant on the continued participation of the reader in the act of turning the page.

³⁴ Werner Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages: The invention of the Surrealist universe*, (trans. John William Gabriel), (London, 1991), p.215

³⁵ Ibid. p.215

reader. Considering the uncanny effect of combining the familiar and the strange, I argue that presenting the reader with images of the immorality, degradation and ruin of human-animal hybrids has more of an uncanny effect if set within the familiar environment of the Paris city street or bourgeois salon. Though Spies is correct in his argument that the arcades of Paris were more thoroughly explored by Aragon and Walter Benjamin, Ernst's brief engagement with the spaces of Paris is no less powerful.

The literary style most associated with *flânerie* of the twentieth century was the *feuilleton*. This reportage style was particularly prevalent in Berlin of the Weimar era and the journalist Joseph Roth was one of its leading exponents. Like Ernst, Roth went beneath the polished veneer of the city to document the experience of its underclasses. His *feuilletons* for the *Neue Berliner Zeitung* included 'Refugees from the East' (1920), 'With the Homeless' (1920), 'Nights in Dives' (1921), and 'The Unnamed Dead' (1923).³⁶ Roth presented the realities of the modern city to Berliners in all its stark ugliness. From 1925 he moved to Paris but remained a frequent visitor to Berlin. In a letter to the editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1926 he wrote:

I don't write "witty columns." I paint the portrait of the age. That's what great newspapers are there for. I'm not a reporter, I'm a journalist; I'm not an editorial writer, I'm a poet.³⁷

Roth represents the *flâneur* whose observation of the city is dispassionate but not without judgement. Benjamin links this critical eye of the *flâneur* back to Baudelaire, whose poetry on the city of Paris was 'no hymn to the homeland' but rather 'the gaze of the alienated man. It is the gaze of the *flâneur*, whose way of life still conceals behind a mitigating nimbus the coming desolation of the big-city dweller.'³⁸

Franz Hessel was another Berliner who brought *flânerie* to the printed page in his *Spazieren in Berlin* (1929). Hessel documents the pullulating streets of the modern metropolis wherein the act of *flânerie* in itself is an act of observing and recording the street:

³⁶ Joseph Roth, *What I saw: Reports from Berlin 1920 – 33*, (London: Granta Books, 2003)

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.16

³⁸ Walter Benjamin, 'Paris the Capital of the Nineteenth-Century', *The Arcades Project*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1999), p.10

The flâneur reads the street, and human faces, displays, window dressings, café terraces, trains, cars, and trees become letters that yield the words, sentences, and pages of a book that is always new.³⁹

In the feuilleton, the flâneur chronicles the streets and places familiar to the reader. The role of the flâneur, therefore, was not just to observe and read the streets of the city but also to write on what he sees for the benefit of the populace at large. Just as Breton recounts the locales of the Right Bank that he frequents and Aragon documents the Passage de l'Opéra favoured by the Surrealists, so too does Ernst record the spaces of his own wanderings. In 1933, Ernst lived in an apartment at 26 rue des Plantes in Montparnasse, just a short stroll from the very busy Place Denfert-Rochereau.⁴⁰ The Lion of Belfort surely cannot have escaped his regular gaze and no doubt struck a note of significance for a native Rhinelander like Ernst. Previously, in 1930, Ernst had resided at 181 boulevard Saint-Germain, at the intersection with the rue des Saints-Pères, only one street to the west of the Cour du Dragon.⁴¹ The Cour du Dragon ran parallel to the boulevard Saint-Germain and connected the rue du Dragon to the rue de Rennes. Roland Penrose, Ernst's friend and the patron who funded the publishing of *Une semaine de bonté* lived in an apartment on the rue des Saints-Pères.⁴² To the south, the rue du Dragon was divided from the rue du Cherche-Midi, and thus Bucher's gallery-bookshop, by the rue de Sèvres. The three individuals most closely involved in publishing *Une semaine de bonté* all lived and worked within one street of the most clearly identified location in the book. In recording the spaces of his own flânerie, Ernst gives *Une semaine de bonté* the effect of a Surrealist feuilleton. The proximity of the Cour du Dragon to the Galerie Jeanne Bucher also meant that the reader, upon purchasing the book, could themselves wander those spaces that were still standing depicted in the collage-novel.

The destruction of the streets around the Cour du Dragon and, eventually, the courtyard itself, reminds the reader that Ernst's depiction of Paris in *Une semaine de bonté* is a historical one. In this respect, as a depiction of a formerly familiar city space, it is similar to Walter Benjamin's, *Berlin Childhood Around 1900* (1939). In this memoir of his adolescence in Berlin, Benjamin composes a series of

³⁹ Franz Hessel, 'Berlin's Boulevard', *Walking in Berlin: A Flâneur in the Capital*, (Melbourne and London, 2016) p.127

⁴⁰ Spies 2009, p.400

⁴¹ Ibid. p.400

⁴² Roland Penrose, *Scrap Book 1900-1981*, (London, 1981), p.52

vignettes of city life at the turn of the century. Even in his childhood reminiscences, however, Benjamin connects the flâneur to a fascination with criminality. In the section 'Misfortunes and Crimes' he writes:

The city would promise them to me with the advent of each new day, and each evening it would still be in my debt. If they did happen to arise somewhere, they were already gone by the time I got there, like divinities who have only minutes to spare for mortals. A looted shop window, the house from which a dead body had been carried away, the spot on the road where a horse had collapsed – I planted myself before these places in order to steep my senses in the evanescent breath which the event had left behind.⁴³

Stalking the streets was motivated by a gruesome desire to indulge in the misfortune of others and the thrill of the crime scene. In the preface to Ernst's earlier collage-novel *La femme 100-têtes*, Breton referred to the reader coming across Ernst's collages as being 'like the meticulous reconstruction of a crime scene witnessed in a dream, without any interest in the least in the name or motives of the killer.'⁴⁴ The connection between flânerie and crime is unavoidable in *Une semaine de bonté* where the characters find themselves embroiled in successive brutal acts. The Lion of Belfort throws a man from a bridge; Oedipus shoots a man in a duel and pierces a woman's foot with a dagger; the cockerel-men abduct women from a train carriage; and in the second volume the entire city is subsumed by a Biblical flood (figs. 19-23). By turning each successive page to reveal new scenes of the macabre and the immoral, the reader adopts the role of Benjamin in his remembrance of crimes past, as he or she reflects on historical criminal acts in the Paris of an earlier age.

I:IV Collaging the Streetscape:

The link between flânerie and criminality appears in another serial Paris novel, Bruno Jasiński's *I Burn Paris* (1928). Jasiński combines elements of the feuilleton style of the flâneur with a dystopian reflection of Paris in the early decades of the twentieth century. In Jasiński's Paris novel, the city meets a cataclysmic fate as a

⁴³ Walter Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood Around 1900*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 2006) p.105-106

⁴⁴ ['Comme la reconstitution incroyablement minutieuse d'une scène de crime à laquelle nous assisterons en rêve, sans nous intéresser le moins du monde au nom et aux mobiles de l'assassin.'] André Breton, preface, Max Ernst, *La Femme 100 têtes* (Paris, 1929) unnumbered

disenchanted factory worker poisons the water supply. The novel had been serialised in Paris in 1928 in the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité*. It is in a scene of *I Burn Paris* that the connection between flânerie and the collage process is made clear:

How often it happens that wandering unfamiliar side streets we suddenly hit upon a familiar road the mind cannot recall, and we pay no heed to our legs as they instinctively guide us forward, a sleepy team of horses pulling their slumbering driver down a path once travelled. Who's to say we haven't accidentally hit upon tracks we ourselves once laid, into which the feet step comfortably and firmly, like a dog tracking its own scent. The town we walk every day, the individual beads of images our gaze gels into the negatives of our memory compose a uniform concept of the city only when strung together on that invisible thread of our scattered steps, that intangible map of our own Paris, so unlike the Parises of others – though their streets may be the same as ours.⁴⁵

Jasieński's uniform concept of the city, in this case, Paris, is formed by what he terms the 'individual beads of images our gaze gels into the negatives of our memory'. This is strikingly similar to Ernst's account of his foray into collage as a pictorial form, when he becomes fixated on disparate catalogue images of anthropologic, mineralogical and other tools that provoked 'a sudden intensification of the visionary faculties in me and brought forth an illusive succession of contradictory images.'⁴⁶ Flânerie finds an appropriate mode of representation in collage therefore, as both serve as embodiments of Surrealist automatism. The flâneur, like a collagist, on his wanderings of the city, captures disparate scenes and, from them, conjures an image of his own personal streetscape. Ernst's own wanderings around his local neighbourhoods of Montparnasse and the Cour du Dragon are reflected in the pages of *Une semaine de bonté*, lending the collage-novel the status of Surrealist feuilleton. Like Aragon and Breton's novelistic engagement with flânerie, Ernst embellishes his tale, using disparate visual elements in the form of collaged scenes. Ernst translates the tropes of literary flânerie, including the associations of the flâneur and criminality, the flâneur as dangerous idler and the flâneur as observer and critic of society, from a verbal to a visual medium and, in doing so, presents the reader with his own

⁴⁵ Bruno Jasieński, *I Burn Paris*, (Prague, 2017), p.22

⁴⁶ Max Ernst, in Robert Rainwater, 'Max Ernst: Printmaker', *Max Ernst: Beyond Surrealism*, (New York and Oxford, 1986) p.7

version of Paris, 'so unlike the Parises of others', that stands as a visual testament to Surrealist flânerie.

As Adamowicz and Spies argued, *Une semaine de bonté* is a work that draws on and subverts multiple visual and literary narrative codes and so frustrates the reader's ability to discern the cohesive plot structure that one expects from the traditional novel format. I add to their existing analysis this additional interpretation of the archetypal flâneur and literary tropes of flânerie to further complicate the experience of reading the novel. The links that I have set out between *Une semaine de bonté* and literary flânerie; from Grandville and Baudelaire and the *physiologie* in the previous century, to contemporary accounts by Breton, Aragon, Hessel, Roth, Benjamin and the feuilleton; are presented as a contribution to the narrative influences already identified within the book. I situate the influence of flânerie and the archetype of the flâneur in literature alongside that of the historical novel, classical myth and the gothic novel as points of reference in Ernst's collage-novel. The shared affinities between flânerie and the process of collage as automatist practices, however, are suggestive of a heretofore unexamined level of cohesion that transcends basic notions of plot structure. By collaging scenes of flânerie, Ernst formally unites the book's content with the manner of its creation.

The feeling of the uncanny is set out by Freud as a contamination of the familiar with elements of the strange but also as an act of revelation. Ernst's book also draws on multiple codes of the uncanny; first in his use of collages of familiar scenes and identifiable characters twinned with monstrous man-animal hybrids committing criminal acts; next, by frustrating the reader's approach to the novel format by offering elements of the familiar serial novel and feuilleton only to inhibit the reading experience with overlapping and disorienting narratives; and finally by imposing upon the reader the experience of revealing these acts with the turn of each page. Thus the uncanny inflects *Une semaine de bonté* in both its content and structure. As publisher, Bucher is responsible for taking Ernst's 182 individual collages and first creating then disseminating a book that fundamentally challenges the reader's expectations and experiences of the novel format. The chance that she took did not pay off financially, to the material detriment of all concerned, but resulted in a masterwork of publishing that is not Surrealist simply because it is the product of a Surrealist artist but also because it draws on the principles of automatism and collaboration that were fundamental to Surrealist thought and distils them in the form of the content and medium of the book.

II: Books Between Men: Bucher and the politics of Surrealist homosocial collaboration

As part of the process of researching this chapter, I curated the exhibition *Publishing Surrealism: Roland Penrose's Library*, held at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art in the summer of 2017. The exhibition focused on Surrealist books from the collection of Roland Penrose, whose archive and private library are held by the National Galleries of Scotland. I chose to focus on the publications of Éditions Jeanne Bucher and included six examples of Bucher's books alongside archival material in order to highlight the role of Bucher as a female gallerist and publisher operating within Surrealism. Bucher's publishing oeuvre aligned closely with her practice as a gallerist, offering spaces literal and figurative for Surrealist collaborative encounters. These encounters that resulted in the creation of collaborative books, however, were predominantly between male artists and poets, with women appearing within the pages of the books but not predominantly as creators. By situating Bucher's books within the wider context of Surrealist publishing practices in the space of the exhibition, I sought to demonstrate the means by which Bucher, as gallerist and publisher, aided in the creation and dissemination of books that were themselves emblematic of Surrealist collaboration. My curatorial approach to the display of these books was to present the role of publisher as instrumental to the process of forming and disseminating Surrealist approaches to book works. I argue that Bucher's books represent a microcosm of wider Surrealist engagement and experimentation with publishing practices.

The process of curating the exhibition led to a number of questions that drove my research: How should we approach Bucher's role within the collaborative relationships fundamental to the creation of these books? How did these books circulate within the international Surrealist movement? Are there similarities in approach to Bucher's work as a gallerist and as a publisher? In my approach to dealing with Bucher's Surrealist books within the archive and the gallery, I sought to draw out the evidence that Bucher not only helped publicise and promote Surrealist art and ideals, but that, through her publications, played an active role in shaping the movement.

The *Publishing Surrealism* exhibition had *Une semaine de bonté* at its heart. From a curatorial perspective, the centrality of the book in the exhibition was a testament to its significance in the history of Surrealist publishing and because, like

many of the publications discussed here, it was the product of both a personal friendship and professional collaboration between artist, publisher and patron. *Une semaine de bonté* would not have been published in its present form without the editorial direction of Bucher aided by the financial assistance of Penrose, Ernst's close friend and a Surrealist artist in his own right. Ernst and Penrose met when the latter moved to Paris with the poet Valentine Boué, in 1922. Penrose had heard Ernst was considering letting his studio space on rue Tourlaque in Montmartre and paid a visit to enquire about renting the property.⁴⁷ This was the beginning of a close, lifelong friendship between the artists and served as Penrose's introduction to the Surrealist circle in Paris. When he later came into his inheritance, Penrose wrote that he was keen to use his newfound wealth to financially support his artist friends by purchasing their artworks and investing in projects such as *Une semaine de bonté*.⁴⁸

It is unclear when Bucher first became acquainted with Penrose but as she had previously published Ernst's *Histoire Naturelle* (1926), it is most likely that it was Ernst who made the introductions. Penrose's role in financing the project was crucial but Bucher remained in charge of the publishing process, consulting Penrose to keep him updated with her decisions and when his financial assistance was required. I chose to include examples of the correspondence between Bucher and Penrose, from the outset of the publishing project to the decade after its completion, in the first display case of the exhibition. These included letters setting out the scope of the project as well as later examples of Bucher reporting on sales of the book. The reason for the inclusion of archival materials so prominently within the exhibition was to demonstrate the easily overlooked role of Bucher as the driving force behind the publishing of the book. The letters from Bucher to Penrose demonstrate that at each stage of the process, including those occasions when Penrose was required to intercede with vital funds, Bucher never ceded editorial control of the project.

In a letter to Penrose in December 1933, Bucher writes that she has 'greatly revised the project' because, after doing calculations of potential sales based on subscriptions it had become clear that if she took the percentage of profits for herself as publisher that she deemed fair, then Ernst would receive too little in his

⁴⁷ Penrose 1981, p.36

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.53

own share.⁴⁹ She followed this with a letter in January announcing her decision to publish the book in an edition of 800 as she considered it too risky to proceed on the expectation of 1,000 customers.⁵⁰ When it became apparent that poor sales and lack of finances raised the possibility of the project ending with the book still unfinished, Bucher wrote to Penrose 'After thinking it through I feel we owe it to ourselves to carry out the project to completion because even if we cannot hope to cover our costs, at least it will be possible to sell whole books.'⁵¹ Ten days later, Bucher writes that she has asked Ernst to combine the final days in one volume.⁵² From the beginning of the project it is clear that despite Penrose's involvement, direct financial stake and close friendship with Ernst, Bucher controlled the number of copies, the date of their publishing, the decision to proceed with the project despite the financial risks involved and the decision to amalgamate the final three days into one volume. The book, in its finished form, therefore, owes much to the creative control exerted by Bucher.

In the years following the publishing of *Une semaine de bonté*, Bucher recorded the sales figures for the book as well as the names of the purchasers. Examining these records demonstrates that *Une semaine de bonté* is an example of the Surrealist book as object of literal exchange between Surrealist artists and poets, as multiple copies of Ernst's collage-novel were largely purchased and shared among members of the Surrealist group. Between September 1936 and 1945, Bucher sold 197 copies of the book at a price that varied between 93 francs for a standard edition, rising to between 300 and 500 francs for an *édition de luxe*. The *Détail des Ventes* that Bucher sent to Penrose in November 1938 records sales of *Une semaine de bonté* to André Breton, Bucher's sometime business partner Marie Cuttoli, Raoul Ubac, Ernst's former wife Marie-Berthe Aurenche, and the poet Joë Bousquet.⁵³ Notable are the multiple purchases by fellow publishing houses and bookshops. Between 1936 and 1945 the renowned London bookshop Zwemmer's purchased four copies, Hachette purchased twelve and José Corti purchased

⁴⁹ Letter from Jeanne Bucher to Roland Penrose, 12 December 1933, (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive) GMA A35/1/1/RPA154/1.1

⁵⁰ Letter from Jeanne Bucher to Roland Penrose, 24 January 1934, (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive) GMA A35/1/1/RPA154/1.3

⁵¹ Letter from Jeanne Bucher to Roland Penrose, 19 October 1934, (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive) GMA A35/1/1/RPA154/1.7.1

⁵² Letter from Jeanne Bucher to Roland Penrose, 29 October 1934, (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive) GMA A35/1/1/RPA154/1.7.2

⁵³ Letters, '*Détail des ventes*' from Jeanne Bucher to Roland Penrose, first dated 17 November 1938, second dated 1946 (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive) GMA A35/1/1/RPA154/2.3

twenty-one copies.⁵⁴ Georges Hugnet, who had established his own small publishing house, Editions de la Montagne, purchased thirty-eight copies. Copies of the book were also purchased by the New York gallerists Julien Levy and Pierre Matisse. Matisse purchased one copy and Levy, twenty-one copies. Ernst had his first exhibition in the United States at the Julien Levy Gallery in 1931 and so it would seem that Levy was confident of an American audience for the books. A letter from the Belgian Surrealist artist ELT Mesens to Penrose in 1946 reveals that Penrose had passed three complete sets of the book on to him to be sold at the London Gallery.⁵⁵ The publishers, gallerists and bookshops purchasing multiple copies is an obvious signal that Bucher's books were being bought and resold and therefore were part of a greater network, stretching to circles in London and New York. Bucher's role as publisher and seller of the book placed her at the centre of a wide-reaching network of Surrealist writers, artists, publishers and dealers, far beyond the reaches of her own gallery.

Bucher appealed to her customers by publicising her books in the same manner as her exhibitions, with regular advertisements in *Cahiers d'Art* and other Surrealist publications. Bucher further blended her curatorial and promotional practices as a gallerist-publisher by staging exhibitions of artists' drawings and prints to run alongside the publishing of their books. The first exhibition staged at Bucher's gallery was a group show featuring Lurçat and in the same year she published his book *Baroques*. This was also the case when Bucher mounted an exhibition of Ernst's drawings titled *36 Dessins pour une 'Histoire Naturelle'* in April 1926 (fig.24). The drawings were then reproduced in the portfolio *Histoire Naturelle*, published in an edition of 306 in 1926. The book contains reproductions of thirty-four of the original drawings, made using Ernst's *frottage* technique that involved the artist taking rubbings from various surfaces. Ernst described the evolution of the technique in great detail in his book *Beyond Painting*:

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Letter from E.L.T. Mesens to Roland Penrose (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive) GMA A35/1/1/RPA154/2/5.1

On the tenth of August, 1925, [...] finding myself one rainy evening in a seaside inn, I was struck by the obsession that showed to my excited gaze the floor-boards upon which a thousand scrubbings had deepened the grooves. I decided then to investigate the symbolism of this obsession and, in order to aid my meditative and hallucinatory faculties, I made from the boards a series of drawings by placing on them, at random, sheets of paper which I undertook to rub with black lead. In gazing attentively at the drawings thus obtained, [...] I was surprised by the sudden intensification of my visionary capacities and by the hallucinatory succession of contradictory images superimposed, one upon the other, with the persistence and rapidity characteristic of amorous memories.⁵⁶

The visionary impulse that drove Ernst to take rubbings from the floorboards and, later, 'leaves and their veins, the ragged edges of a bit of linen, the brushstrokes of a "modern" painting, the unwound thread from a spool', resulted in a strange bestiary.⁵⁷ Avian, insect and fish sit alongside disembodied eyes and barren landscapes (fig.25). The preface to the work, provided in the form of a poem by Hans Arp, echoes these strange creatures and scenes as well as their mode of creation: 'the mirror is replaced by waxed floors and the wardrobe itself by castles in Spain.'⁵⁸ There is a direct link between the automatic principles at work in Ernst's *frottage*, rubbing the floorboards with lead free from conscious thought, and automatic writing. In the introduction to a later edition of the book, Penrose makes this connection, referring to *Histoire Naturelle* as 'a work of pure visual poetry in which intelligence and the scientific knowledge of the author are closely mingled with the irrational and the absurd.'⁵⁹ The juxtaposition of the book's title, alluding to a scientific natural history book, and the otherworldly automatic drawings is, as Robert Motherwell suggested, 'an act of revolt projected from the level of poetry against the rational approach to nature as we find it in science books.'⁶⁰

The free flow of thought, unimpeded by rational concerns was central to the content and means of creation of the drawings in *Histoire Naturelle*. How could a publication, technologically reproduced in an edition of over 300, match the raw, vibrant immediacy of the original works? The answer lies in the collotype printing

⁵⁶ Max Ernst, *Beyond Painting: And Other Writings by the Artist and His Friends*, (New York, 1948), p.7

⁵⁷ Ibid. p.7

⁵⁸ ['la glace est remplacée par des parquets cirés et l'armoire elle-même par des châteaux en Espagne'] Hans Arp, Preface, Max Ernst, *Histoire Naturelle*, (Paris, 1926), unnumbered

⁵⁹ Roland Penrose, Introduction, *Histoire Naturelle*, (London, 1982), p.iv

⁶⁰ Robert Motherwell, 'Prefatory Note', in Max Ernst, *Beyond Painting: And Other Writings by the Artist and His Friends*, (New York, 1948), p.v

process that was used when publishing Ernst's drawings. The process involves coating a glass plate with light sensitive gelatine, which is then exposed to a photographic negative without the intermediary of a half-tone screen. As Kerry Watson and Hannah Brocklehurst have noted, collotype printing is known for its fidelity to the original being reproduced, with the resulting print being 'often indistinguishable from the original drawing or photograph.'⁶¹ Using collotype as the method of reproduction allowed for every grain and texture that spurred Ernst's original *frottages* to be replicated and distributed, assuring the reader that they have as close to an original as possible with a published work. By exhibiting the book alongside the original drawings, Bucher emphasises the fidelity of reproduction and thus the quality of her books as well as demonstrating that Surrealist automatist artistic practices could be faithfully recreated and shared through publishing.

Translating Ernst's Surrealist automatic processes into published works is something at which Bucher proved adept. When she later came to publish *Une semaine de bonté*, the printing process was fundamental to the effect of the finished work. Bucher commissioned the printer George Duval to print the books using a line etching process that resembled wood engravings. This was not only another reference to the nineteenth-century imagery that Ernst was using but also meant that completed collages hid any traces of where Ernst had made cuts and additions. As Spies has pointed out, it also served the practical purpose of rendering the different sizes of original collages and source material in a uniform format.⁶² The printing process results in the collaged scenes being more cohesive, furthering the uncanny sense of the intermingled strange and familiar.

The effect of the printing process can be seen when comparing the completed books with the original collages (figs.26-27). In the *Publishing Surrealism* exhibition, I chose to display examples of unpublished collages, in which the cut and pasted additions to the scenes are more apparent, alongside the published book. I sought to demonstrate by this comparison that the original collages were the beginning and not the end of Ernst's creative process in the collage-novels. In this instance, the typical hierarchical relationship between original and reproduction is reversed and the completed work is the book in its 816 editions and not the original collage. The publishing process was therefore

⁶¹ Hannah Brocklehurst and Kerry Watson, *The Printmakers Art*, (Edinburgh, 2015) p.82

⁶² Spies 2009, p.365

instrumental in the creation of the work and renders Bucher as more than mere promoter of Surrealist art but as an active participant in its creation. This only serves to emphasise that *Une semaine de bonté* was a truly collaborative work and not only in terms of the triumvirate of Ernst, Bucher and Penrose but also in the choice of Duval and his workshop as printmaker.

Collaborative publishing had always been central to Surrealist artistic practice, even before Breton's First Surrealist Manifesto of 1924. Breton, along with Aragon and the writer Philippe Soupault edited the proto-Surrealist literary magazine *Littérature*. The magazine was first published in March 1919 and ran until August 1921 and was the first in a series of magazines edited jointly by Surrealist artists and poets. During this initial period, the magazine published a new edition every month, featuring the poetry of Rimbaud and Mallarmé, contributions from Guillaume Apollinaire, Paul Valéry, André Gide and the issue of May 1920 featured twenty-three Dada manifestos. Though Breton closed the magazine in August 1921, he revived it in 1922 under the title, *Littérature: Nouvelle Série*. The new series would run until 1924 with each issue featuring a cover designed by Francis Picabia. In December 1924, *Littérature* was succeeded by *La Révolution surréaliste*, edited by Breton, Pierre Naville and Benjamin Péret. Early editions of the magazine covered topics of Surrealist fascination such as suicide, automatic writing and anti-clericalism. The final issue in December 1929 opened with Breton's Second Surrealist Manifesto, which included details of the exclusion of certain Surrealists from the group. The magazine *Surréalisme au service de la révolution* appeared the following year, with a first issue in July 1930. This was a more politically inflected publication, with Breton again adopting the role of editor. This publication was less visually arresting than the earlier Surrealist magazines and held none of the visual playfulness of Picabia's drawings. Surrealist magazines were not only an effective means of disseminating Surrealist thought in the form of poetry, automatic writing, literary criticism, manifestos and reproductions of Surrealist artworks; they also served as a means of solidifying the disparate group of artists and writers into a more cohesive union of accepted visual art and writing.

It is this spirit of Surrealist canon formation that translated to the form of the book in the *Petite anthologie poétique du surréalisme*, published by Bucher in 1934 in an edition of 2,028 (fig.28). George Hugnet edited and provided an introductory text for the anthology of Surrealist poetry that included contributions from Breton, Péret, René Char, Tristan Tzara and Éluard. Surrealist art was also included in the volume in the form of 21 black and white photographs of work by

artists including Picasso, Marcel Duchamp, Valentine Hugo, Salvador Dalí and Ernst. Hugnet lived in an apartment at 9 Boulevard du Montparnasse, above Bucher's gallery. Bucher's great-granddaughter Stéphane Jaeger recounted to me her childhood memories of Hugnet as a frequent presence in both the family home and gallery, highlighting again that for Bucher, as was common in Surrealist practice, professional collaboration was born out of personal relationships and affinities that went beyond artistic concerns.⁶³ Given the importance afforded to the editorial voice of Breton and others in the publishing of the successive Surrealist magazines, it feels appropriate to draw attention to the fact that this accumulation of Surrealist art and writing bore Bucher's publishing imprint, offering a clear assertion of her support and promotion of the Surrealist movement. Though the *Petite anthologie poétique du surréalisme* represented a multitude of Surrealist voices within one publication, the majority of books published by Bucher were the result of collaborations between a single artist and poet.

Bucher published Hugnet's *Non Vouloir* in 1942, during the period of the German Occupation of Paris.⁶⁴ Hugnet dedicated the book to Éluard who was his close friend during the Occupation of Paris when both men were involved with French Resistance.⁶⁵ As Adamowicz has pointed out, it was often the case that Surrealist books would be printed cheaply at first, with no illustration, to be

⁶³ Conversation with Stéphane Jaeger-Rouse, Edinburgh, November 2017

⁶⁴ It is notable that during the four-year period of the Occupation of Paris, Bucher was able to continue her publishing practice, producing five books between 1940 and 1944. As well as Hugnet's *Non Vouloir* and *La Femme Facile*, both published in 1942, Bucher also published Jacques Lipchitz's *Douze dessins pour Prométhée* (1940), Roger Vieillard's *Paysages de France* (1943), and Marie Laure de Noailles's *L'an quarante* (1943). To produce books in editions ranging from 75 to 500 copies during this period of censorship and a scarcity of quality papers and ink is a remarkable feat. *Non Vouloir* was produced in an edition of 420 with 20 deluxe editions signed by both artist and author and is a stunning example of the *livre d'artiste* in both its quality of text and illustration, and reproduction. This book alone demonstrates that the quality of Bucher's publications at this time did not diminish despite the obvious difficulties involved in conducting business during a period of war and occupation. Also remarkable is the fact that Hugnet dedicated the book to his fellow poet Paul Éluard, a close friend and fellow member of the Resistance. It is unclear exactly how Bucher was able to both continue to mount exhibitions by artists such as Kandinsky at her Montparnasse gallery and also to produce high quality books so closely associated with the French Resistance during the German Occupation. In my research I was unable to find any record of where Bucher sourced supplies of paper and ink or how she was able to continue this aspect of her professional activity during this time, but the specifics of book production in France in this period would be of great interest for further scholarly research.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Cowling, Richard Calvocoressi, Patrick Elliott, Ann Simpson, *Surrealism and After: The Gabrielle Keiller Collection* (Edinburgh, 1997) p.174

followed later by an edition lavishly illustrated by an artist.⁶⁶ This is the case here, as the suite of poems had been published previously, in 1940, without illustrations. Bucher's edition, however, was beautifully illustrated with four lithographs by Picasso (fig.29). The lithographs depict a woman in a series of poses; facing the viewer; sitting, standing and running. Each of the four lithographs were printed in four colours; yellow, blue, red and green. Two additional prints were made, overlaying the four lithographs in different combinations. Hugnet was a frequent collaborator with Bucher as she published five texts by the poet. Two other works by Hugnet, not included in the exhibition, were *La Septième face du dé* (1936), featuring both poems and collages by Hugnet and a cover designed by Duchamp, and *La Femme Facile* (1942) (fig.30), with text and cover design by Hugnet and lithographs by Christine Boumeester and Henri Goetz. As such examples make clear, the collaborative relationship between Bucher and Hugnet, allowed the poet to juxtapose his writing alongside the works of a series of visual artists as well as experimenting with his own visual artworks within the books. It is clear from the examples of Bucher's books that the Surrealists participated in collaborative works that allowed for a crossover of artistic and literary experience. For Renée Riese Hubert, Surrealist collaboration is epitomised by the form of the 'exquisite corpse' that allowed for Surrealist automatism to be played out within groups of artists and writers.⁶⁷ The very act of collaboration in this instance is what guarantees a repudiation of conscious thought and predetermined visual imagery. The book, as quintessential object of collaboration offered the ideal space to experiment with and disseminate such ideals. This free flow of visual and literary play was also, as the selection of books published by Bucher within the Penrose collection demonstrate, a primarily homosocial practice between male artists and poets.

In November 1937, Bucher exhibited *Les Dessins de Man Ray* at her Boulevard du Montparnasse gallery. The drawings by Man Ray were displayed alongside the book in which they were reproduced, *Les Mains Libres* (1937) (fig.31). The book was published in an edition of 675 and featured drawings by Man Ray that were 'illustrated' by the poems of Éluard. The artist and poet were close friends and had collaborated previously, on the publication *Facile*, published by Editions G.L.M. in 1935. The earlier work similarly comprised poems by Éluard

⁶⁶ Elza Adamowicz, 'The Surrealist Artist's Book: Beyond the Page', *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol.70, No. 2., p.271

⁶⁷ Renée Riese Hubert, *Surrealism and the Book*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1988) p.54

alongside photographs of Nusch Éluard by Man Ray. The title *Les Mains Libres* is a pun on the 'author' Man Ray's libertinism as well as a reference to the beautifully free flowing line drawings.⁶⁸ The drawings were completed in 1936 and given to Éluard to 'illustrate' with his poems. He gifted the manuscript to his wife Nusch for her birthday in June 1936.⁶⁹ In the previous chapter, I argued that the *livres d'artiste* published by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler saw a shift in the relationship between artist and poet to a more equal footing and thus a more truly collaborative relationship between text and image. In *Les Mains Libres*, this relationship is shifted further, privileging the role of the artist. The poet, Éluard, is tasked with responding verbally to the visual stimulus of the imagery that is, in this case, the eroticised female form. Like the examples of *Histoire Naturelle* and *Une semaine de bonté*, that played on and subverted tropes of Natural History books and the serial novel, Bucher again demonstrates a willingness as publisher to experiment and manipulate established forms of the book. In this case, the *livre d'artiste* is given the Surrealist twist of reversing the traditional relationship between artist and poet.

It is clear when considering the range of books published by Bucher, that these were the product of a series of friendships and professional collaborations between male poets and artists. The vast majority of Bucher's publications are by men, with notable exceptions including Maria Helena Vieira da Silva's *Kô et Kô* (1933) and Boumeester's illustrations for *La Femme Facile*. Other small publishing houses that produced Surrealist books at this time included Hugnet's Éditions de la Montagne, Guy Levis-Mano's Éditions G.L.M., and Christian Zervos's Éditions Cahiers d'art, ensuring that the Surrealist book was almost always the product of an entirely homosocial collaboration. Bucher managed and mediated these relationships when publishing her books and yet her role in their creation is obviously not as conspicuous as the contributions of artist and poet. This absence is particularly felt in books such as *Les Mains Libres* and Hugnet's collaboration with Hans Bellmer, *Oeillades ciselées en branche* (1939), in which female figures appear as objects of erotic encounter that fuel the exchange between male artist and poet. As a female gallerist-publisher, Bucher's position should be considered within wider discussions of the role of women within the Surrealist movement.

The book *Surrealism and Women* featured three introductory essays by each of the editors, Mary Ann Caws, Rudolf Kuenzli and Gwen Raaburg. In her essay

⁶⁸ Cowling et al. 1997, p. 180

⁶⁹ Ibid. p.180

'Seeing the Surrealist Woman: We are a Problem', Caws writes of the ways in which women are often portrayed in Surrealist art:

Headless. And also footless. Often armless too; and always unarmed, except with poetry and passion. There they are, the surrealist women so shot and painted, so stressed and dismembered, punctured and severed: is it any wonder she has (we have) gone to pieces?⁷⁰

Caws refers to the dismembered dolls of Bellmer but could just as easily be referring to the young girls depicted in his illustrations for *Oeillades ciselées en branche* (fig.32). Man Ray's women, Caws writes, are worse still 'because [they are] more lustily appealing'⁷¹, such as the transmogrified women of *Les Mains Libres*. Surrealist depictions of women, like those in the books published by Bucher, typically evoked violent sexual imagery. In *Une semaine de bonté*, women are tortured, seduced, murdered and mutilated. When a female character, or series of characters, does take central focus, as in the second volume, *L'eau*, she is harbinger of apocalyptic flood. In the third volume, *La Cour du Dragon*, the female character is secretive and vampiric and almost always depicted within the domestic sphere. When women were not being tortured or sexualised in Surrealist imagery they are absent altogether. No women feature in Man Ray's *L'Echiquier surréaliste*, a Surrealist 'chessboard' of portraits of the leading male artists and poets of the movement, that appears in Hugnet's *Petite anthologie poétique du surréalisme*. Caws seeks to expand on the analysis of women in Surrealism beyond the reductive roles of muse and mistress and explores the female agency that they are so often denied in Surrealist imagery. Caws writes that she wishes to return to Surrealist women 'their head, their eyes, their hands, not just on their hips to provoke, but free to use as they pleased and did.'⁷²

Whitney Chadwick's book *The Militant Muse: Love, War and the Women of Surrealism* (2017) repositions female friendships and collaborations within Surrealism, giving them the same prominence afforded to male Surrealist artists and poets. In the book Chadwick focuses on collaborations between Valentine Penrose and both Alice Rahon Paalen and Lee Miller; Frida Kahlo and Jacqueline

⁷⁰ Mary Ann Caws, 'Seeing the Surrealist Woman: We are a Problem', *Surrealism and Women*, (Cambridge, Massachussets, 1991), p.11

⁷¹ Ibid. p.11

⁷² Ibid. p.12

Lamba Breton; and Leonora Carrington and Leonor Fini, among others⁷³. While the dealers Betty Parsons and Peggy Guggenheim are mentioned, Bucher does not feature. Part of Chadwick's approach is to chart the, often extraordinary, circumstances in which female Surrealist artists found themselves, and to document the support that they received from their fellow female artists. Bucher's own professional experience was also a difficult one. In my conversation with Emmanuel Jaeger, Bucher's great-grandson and current co-director of the Galerie Jeanne Bucher Jaeger, he made clear to me that the gallery's continuing legacy is a result of Bucher's personal tenacity and ability to use her business acumen to weather the financial and political storms of the interwar years, Great Depression and the German Occupation of Paris.⁷⁴ Bucher published five books during the period of the occupation, including by the Jewish artist, Jacques Lipchitz who had been forced to flee Paris. The considerable danger in which Bucher placed herself by continuing to operate her business is testament to her zeal as publisher and further advances the argument that female Surrealists be judged by their actions and not by their depictions.

The exhibition *Dreamers Awake* opened at White Cube Bermondsey in June 2017 and was dedicated to female artists associated with, and inspired by, Surrealism. Curator Susanna Greeves wrote that the aim of the exhibition was to show how the woman of Surrealist imagination is 'refigured as a creative, sentient, thinking being.'⁷⁵ Alice Mahon opens her catalogue essay by using the example of René Magritte's *Je ne vois pas la [femme] cachée dans la forêt* (1929) to outline the claims of Surrealist misogyny before presenting her own interpretation that moves away from a literal reading: 'we must recall that the Surrealist enterprise scrutinised desire and reality alike.'⁷⁶ Mahon suggests that Magritte is indulging in linguistic play and 'using art to unsettle knowledge, implicating the reader/spectator in the process.'⁷⁷ Dawn Ades uses the same Magritte example in her essay 'Surrealism: Male-Female' where she also argues against the 'pervasive

⁷³ Whitney Chadwick, *The Militant Muse: Love, War and the Women of Surrealism*, (London, 2017)

⁷⁴ Conversation with Emmanuel Jaeger, Edinburgh, February 2018

⁷⁵ Susanna Greeves, 'The Form of the Flower is Unknown to the Seed', in *Dreamers Awake*, [exh. cat], (London: White Cube Bermondsey, 2017), p.17

⁷⁶ Alice Mahon, 'I Do Not See the Woman Hidden in the Forest: Surrealism and the Feminine', in *Dreamers Awake*, [exh. cat], (London: White Cube Bermondsey, 2017), p.2

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 2

misogyny' of Surrealism that occludes a more nuanced account.⁷⁸ While my own contribution to curating Surrealist books was, of course, on a far smaller scale than *Dreamers Awake*, I nevertheless sought to demonstrate the same refiguring of Bucher as the 'creative, sentient, thinking', and often overlooked, figure behind the creation and distribution of these masterworks of Surrealist publishing. While the work of male Surrealist artists and poets in the books published by Bucher are more immediately obvious than her own contribution, she does retain a symbolic presence within each work. Every one of her publications, aside from her first book *Baroques*, over two decades appeared under the imprint Éditions Jeanne Bucher. The woman as depicted within the books, as temptress, *femme-enfant*, and victim, is mediated and countered by Bucher's own symbolic presence as co-creator and distributor of the book. As Caws has argued, it is much more useful when considering the role of women in Surrealism to examine their actions rather than focusing solely on the manner in which they are depicted by their male counterparts. In the *Publishing Surrealism* exhibition, I attempted to echo Caws's suggestion by exhibiting the diverse range of Bucher's books, demonstrating that in her role as publisher, Bucher exemplifies the call for the female Surrealist to be returned her voice, in this case a specifically editorial voice.

⁷⁸ See Dawn Ades, 'Surrealism: Male-Female', *Writings on Art and Anti-Art*, (London, 2015) pp.371-393

Conclusion

Following her death in 1946, Bucher's great-nephew, Jean-Francois Jaeger took over the running of the gallery. In 1971, Jaeger arranged for the return of the remaining unsold stock of *Une semaine de bonté* to Penrose.⁷⁹ Penrose in turn dispatched a number of copies of the book to public institutions in the United Kingdom including the British Library and a number of universities, where it entered their special collections. The copies of the book that Penrose kept for himself became a part of his own collection of Surrealist books, many of which were also published by Éditions Jeanne Bucher. The copies of *Une semaine de bonté* in Penrose's private library were later acquired by the National Galleries of Scotland, where they are archived as part of the Penrose collection. It was from this collection that I curated the *Publishing Surrealism* exhibition. My curatorial approach was based on a reappraisal of Bucher's role as a female publisher who produced books in collaboration with predominantly male artists and poets. The effect of these collaborative relationships has privileged the roles played by the male artists and poets in the creation of the books and downplayed the role and agency of Bucher as publisher. The books that Bucher produced, particularly *Les Mains Libres* and *Oeillades ciselées en branche*, complicate a feminist reading of her publishing practice in that they represent what Chadwick, Caws and others have identified as the problem of women within Surrealism; so often portrayed as tortured, sexualised *femme-enfant*; as wife, mistress or muse. Nevertheless, in my curatorial role, I sought to display Bucher's publishing oeuvre as testament to the fundamentally creative role of the publisher as artistic practitioner within Surrealism.

Works such as *Une semaine de bonté* and *Histoire Naturelle* represent the importance of the publishing process in bringing the artwork to completion and then disseminating the fruits of Surrealist artistic labour. The publishing process is not just a means of reproduction in Ernst's work, but is in fact crucial to the completion of the works. The letters that Bucher exchanged with Penrose demonstrate the activities of a woman who was not a passive player within these collaborative relationships. Bucher exerted complete control over her publishing projects from start to finish. The ledgers that she shared with Penrose also position Bucher at the centre of a wide-reaching network of Surrealist exchange. As

⁷⁹ Letter from Jean-Francois Jaeger to Roland Penrose, 16 June 1971 (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Library and Archive) GMA A35/1/1/RPA154/3.1

publisher and gallerist combined, Bucher amalgamated her practice, ensuring that books and exhibitions complemented one another; that they were publicised in the same way and that they maximised the potential for sales of both original artworks and published reproductions. Across her diverse and impressive range of published works, Bucher represents the Surrealist woman as set out by Caws and in contrast with the image often depicted by male Surrealist artists. Bucher had the 'eye, head and hands' necessary to formulate and disseminate collaborative works by artists and poets and she used them to justify her place within the history of Surrealist publishing.

Chapter Three

Behind the mirror: Maeght, Malraux and the magazine as *musée imaginaire*, 1946 - 1982

On 28 July 1964, the French Minister of Cultural Affairs, André Malraux, inaugurated the Fondation Marguerite et Aimé Maeght in the town of Saint-Paul-de-Vence in southeastern France. The foundation was designed by Josep Lluís Sert and had been under construction since 1960. Aimé and Marguerite Maeght funded the project in order to house works of art from their collection in a gallery that was open to the public and the rooms of the foundation were named for the artists whose work Maeght had collected and sold in his gallery over the previous two decades. The Salle Georges Braque opened onto the Salle Miró and then on to the Salles Chagall and Kandinsky and in the grounds, sculptures by Miró sat alongside mosaics by Chagall. In this spot in the hills overlooking the Mediterranean were the collected works of artists who had been represented by Galerie Maeght since it opened at 13 rue de Téhéran in Paris 1945. The inauguration ceremony and the foundation itself were commemorated in the December 1965 edition of the magazine *Derrière le Miroir*, published by Maeght Éditeur. The magazine was first published in 1946, the year after Maeght opened his Paris gallery, and ran in an uninterrupted series until 1982, the year after his death. In this chapter, I assess the extent of the democratising power of *Derrière le miroir* and the implications of its relationship to the space of the gallery.

Aimé Maeght began his career as a lithographer at the Robaudy printmakers in Cannes in 1926. The following year he met Marguerite Devaye, whom he would go on to marry in 1928. Marguerite Maeght opened her own interior design store on the rue des Belges in Cannes, while Aimé continued working in printing and advertising. He first met one of the artists with whom he would form a longstanding professional collaboration and personal friendship when Pierre Bonnard came to their shop in 1936. Bonnard required a lithograph for the cover of a brochure for a Maurice Chevalier concert. Maeght not only provided the lithograph, he also placed the original drawing in the shop window and soon sold it. This was Maeght's first foray into art dealing but over the

following year, the shop gradually became a gallery displaying the work of contemporary local artists. On the outbreak of war, Maeght joined the infantry and was based in Toulon. The Maeghts left Cannes for the town of Vence in 1943 where Bonnard introduced them to his friend Henri Matisse. When Maeght and Bonnard journeyed to Paris to reclaim possession of Bonnard's studio, the artist pressed Maeght to open a Paris gallery of his own. Maeght took over the former Schoeller Gallery in Paris in 1944 and the following year, in October 1945, Aimé and Marguerite Maeght opened the gallery that bore their name at 13 rue de Téhéran, with an inaugural exhibition of recent works by Matisse. The first edition of *Derrière le miroir* followed in October 1946.

Like Vollard, Kahnweiler and Bucher before him, Maeght was a gallerist-publisher who repeatedly engaged with the form of the *livre d'artiste*. Beautifully crafted deluxe editions by artists and poets such as Braque, Miró, Leiris, Tristan Tzara and, of course, Malraux, made up Maeght's publishing oeuvre. Maeght had inherited the project of Vollard's unpublished version of Hesiod's *Théogonie*, which he then published in 1955 with etchings made by Braque in 1932. It is in this continuing spirit of the *livre d'artiste* that Maeght brought together contemporary artists and poets in his publications. The decision to invite exhibiting artists to design and print their own cover image and lithographs within the form of the magazine, was born out of Maeght's observation of a post-war building boom.¹ Maeght believed that this tranche of new homes would require art for the walls and that lithographs, dispatched via the magazine, were an effective and economic way of meeting this need.

From the outset, therefore, Maeght claimed to have the widening of access to contemporary art at the heart of his publishing endeavours. This raises the following questions: to what extent can a publication produced by a private gallery, and thus a product of a commercial art institution, constitute a democratisation of art? Moreover, how does the magazine, as democratic tool, mediate the relationship between the reader and the gallery? In answering these questions, I focus on the qualities of seriality and collectability that are inherent to the form of the magazine. Specifically, I examine the nature of the serial magazine as collectible and argue that it is in its collectability that its democratic power lies. The theoretical setting off point for my analysis is an interpretation of Malraux's concept of the *musée imaginaire*, whereby I examine the extent to which *Derrière le*

¹ Nicholas Watkins, *Behind the Mirror: Aimé Maeght and His Artists*, (London, 2008) p.37

miroir represents a *musée imaginaire d'art contemporain*. My analysis of *Derrière le miroir* is based on a specific collection of the magazine, namely the collection amassed by Roland Penrose and later acquired by the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, where it is held in archive storage.

The potential of the magazine to act as democratising force for art is often discussed in relation to magazines published by artists, produced outside of art institutions, from the 1960s onwards.² In this chapter, I consider magazines published by gallerists from the beginning of the twentieth century, with a particular focus on Maeght's *Derrière le miroir*, which appeared in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. It is the direct association of the magazine with the space of the commercial gallery that complicates a reading of its democratising power, as it no longer represents a publication that operates solely under the direction and hand of the artist, outside of the institutional art market. How democratic, then, is the gallery magazine? What are the limits to its democratising power? The longevity of *Derrière le miroir*, which ran to two hundred issues, necessitates an examination of the serial nature of the publication and its role as a collectible object. It is in respect to the seriality and collectability of the magazine that I draw on Malraux's notion of the *musée imaginaire*. Malraux's 'imaginary museum' centred on the increasing prominence of easily available books containing photographic reproductions of art. I shift focus from photographic reproduction to a discussion of the dissemination of lithographs that appeared in the pages of *Derrière le miroir*. In answering the question of the magazine's democratic potential, I focus on the ability of the reader, as implied by Malraux's *musée imaginaire*, to acquire and arrange a personal collection of art outwith the mediating space of the museum or gallery. I argue that *Derrière le miroir* turns the reader into a collector and, by extension, a curator of their own private collections of contemporary art and that it is this ability that is at the heart of its democratising power. I contextualise my analysis of *Derrière le miroir* by proceeding to consider it as one example within the wider history of the gallery magazine. In my exploration of other magazines published by gallerists, I select case studies that delineate the relationships that exist between gallery, magazine and public. In my analysis, I consider the various forms and functions of the gallery magazine as they developed over decades to ask the question; why did gallerists throughout the twentieth

² The context of artists' magazines in the 1960s and 1970s will be explored further in the following chapter.

century turn to the serial publication as part of their professional practice? I answer by relating the content and approach taken by the gallerist as magazine publisher to the artists, movements and causes that those gallerists championed. In particular I focus on the recurring themes of the magazine as a means of promotion, publicity and as a tool for disseminating art directly to the public.

I: *Derrière le miroir* as *musée imaginaire*: the gallery magazine as serial, collectible and democratic medium

The first issue of *Derrière le miroir* was published by Éditions Maeght to mark the Galerie Maeght exhibition *Le noir est une couleur* in October 1946 (fig.1). From this point, until Maeght's death in 1982, an edition of the magazine was published to coincide with every major exhibition held at Galerie Maeght. This amounted to two hundred issues of the magazine, with usually between four and six issues published per year.³ Like the exhibitions it accompanied, the magazine was most often monographic in focus, with a small number of issues being dedicated to group shows or themes such as abstract art and sculpture. Artists featured in the magazine include Joan Miró, Alexander Calder, Marc Chagall, Eduardo Chillida, Vassily Kandinsky, Georges Braque and Francis Bacon. The publication featured original lithographs and photographs of exhibited works of art as well as contemporary poetry and prose. Writers whose work was included in the magazine included Yves Bonnefoy, Jacques Prévert, Michel Leiris and Christian Zervos. In comprising photographs, lithographs and writing on artists represented by the gallery, the magazine had the dual function of an exhibition catalogue and a magazine of contemporary art.

Maeght's good friend, the author, cultural critic and politician, André Malraux developed his concept of the *musée imaginaire* over a series of texts; *Le Musée imaginaire* (1947), *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* (1952 – 54), and *Les Voix du silence* (1951). Malraux's conception of the *musée imaginaire* centred on the idea that technological advances would result in photographic reproductions of artworks in books adopting the traditional role of the museum as cultural storehouse. Art books filled with reproductions could offer the reader access to an 'imaginary museum' of world art and thus lead to a figurative dissolution of barriers between art and the public. This notion of dissolution explains the common translation of *musée imaginaire* as 'museum without walls'. The effect of technological advances in the reproductions of artworks is something that was also famously explored by Malraux's contemporary, the writer and cultural critic Walter Benjamin.

In Benjamin's essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility* (1936), he writes of the deleterious effects of mass reproduction on

³ The magazines were occasionally published as double or triple issues, resulting in the numbered editions being listed as 253.

the 'aura' of an artwork. Even the most accurate methods of reproduction, Benjamin writes, will always be lacking 'the here and now of the work of art – its unique existence in a particular place.'⁴ The principal focus of both Malraux and Benjamin in their respective texts was on the effects of technological advances in photographic reproduction but Benjamin does discuss lithography in his brief history of the reproduction of artworks:

Lithography marked a fundamentally new stage in the technology of reproduction. This much more direct process – distinguished by the fact that the drawing is traced on a stone, rather than incised on a block of wood or etched on a copper plate – first made it possible for graphic art to market its products not only in large numbers, as previously, but in daily changing variations. Lithography enabled graphic art to provide an illustrated accompaniment to everyday life.⁵

The lithographs that appear in the pages of *Derrière le miroir* provide an interesting test of Benjamin's criticism of the reproduction operating outside of the original artwork's existence in a particular context. For Benjamin, the aura of a work of art, its uniqueness in time and place, 'withers' as the result of mass reproduction. These works in the pages of *Derrière le miroir*, however, were created by artists to exist within the context of the magazine in its thousands of copies. This is not a case of lithography used to reproduce and disseminate versions of original works of art that had been created for another context and in another medium. In the case of *Derrière le miroir*, artists directly engage with the means of reproduction with the intended location of the work being first, the pages of the magazine and ultimately, the home of the reader. In Maeght's magazine, the reproduction is, in effect, the artwork and every reader is offered a chance at ownership. The direct link between the artist and the reader of the magazine is emphasised in those deluxe editions that were signed by the artist.

Unlike Benjamin, Malraux's conception of the *musée imaginaire* is not concerned with a loss of 'aura' or the withering of authenticity in art, and instead prioritises the democratising potential of artistic reproduction. The fact that the reader can collect books of images of world art within their own home, outwith their original context, is precisely what leads to the opening up of the relationship

⁴ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility', *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Vol. 3 1935 – 1938*, Michael W. Jennings (ed.), (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: 2006) p.103

⁵ Ibid. p.102

between art and the public. How does one apply Malraux's theory on the democratic power of art's reproducibility to *Derrière le miroir*? The salient issue in Malraux's account is not in the specific manner of reproduction but in the direct relationship it engenders between reader and artwork. The fact that my analysis of *Derrière le miroir* privileges discussion of lithography over photography is, therefore, not outwith the concerns of the *musée imaginaire*. The printing technology that allowed for the mass production and distribution of lithographic prints by contemporary artists easily aligns with Malraux's concept of the *musée imaginaire*.

In *The Book on the Floor: Malraux and the Imaginary Museum*, Walter Grasskamp's account of Malraux's *musée imaginaire* opens with the famous image of Malraux in his drawing room with double page proofs for his book *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* spread out carefully on the floor all around him (fig.2) The photograph, taken by Maurice Jarnoux in 1954, exemplifies the idea of the *musée imaginaire* whereby the reader of art books and magazines has ownership over the reproduced images within. If one were to substitute the lithographs from *Derrière le miroir* for the photographs on the floor, it would also represent the power given to the reader of the magazine, to similarly collect, arrange and coordinate the series of artworks by contemporary artists now in their possession. As collector of the magazine, the reader is given editorial control of his or her own collection of art. Works can be positioned and repositioned, on the floor, shelf or wall in any combination desired. Given the connection between the contents of each issue of *Derrière le miroir* and exhibitions at Galerie Maeght, the space of the gallery and the experience of the exhibition is metaphorically extended, via the form of the magazine, to encompass the home of the reader.

As Grasskamp has pointed out, the idea of the publication as a 'museum' of art reproductions had been present from the end of the previous century in examples such as *Das Museum: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Werke bildender Kunst* (1896 – 1911). This portfolio was published annually and featured essays and photographic reproductions that 'were also suitable for framing and no doubt some will have graced the walls of bourgeois apartments.'⁶ Malraux was also familiar with the wider practicalities of technological advances in publishing beyond his role as author. He was employed by the publishing house Gallimard

⁶ Walter Grasskamp, *The Book on the Floor: André Malraux and the Imaginary Museum*, (Los Angeles, 2016), p.40

from 1929 and was associated with the publisher for the rest of his life 'as an employee, an advisor, an editor, or as a shareholder in subsidiary companies.'⁷ Malraux, therefore, was well placed to speak to the democratising power of publishing reproductions of artworks.

While Maeght was in control of all aspects of the gallery, foundation and publishing house, he gave a great deal of responsibility for publishing *Derrière le miroir* to his son Adrien. It was Adrien who decided to bring all of the gallery's printing processes in-house. In 1964, in the same year the foundation opened, Adrien Maeght purchased the Duval printing house, reopening it as the ARTE-Adrien Maeght printmakers within which every one of the gallery publications, from *livres d'artiste* to *Derrière le miroir*, would be printed. From this point, artists could create lithographs, etchings, offset and other forms of prints as well as create all of the prints intended for their respective editions of the magazine, from Adrien's printmaking studio. This connection between the gallerist, artist and printmaker further emphasised the direct link between the gallery and the reader of the magazine. In an interview with Ann Dumas, Yoyo Maeght, daughter of Adrien Maeght, outlines the function of *Derrière le miroir* as catalogue and its relationship to the exhibition:

It was too difficult at that time to take photos to illustrate the works in the shows and, in any case, the paintings were often not finished two days before the exhibition. What my father wanted was to preserve the memory of the exhibition. An original lithograph is not a reproduction of a drawing or a painting. Even if it is small, you retain 'le geste' – the movement of the hand of the artist – at the right scale, even if it is very simple.⁸

The preservation of 'le geste' of the artist within the pages of the magazine is fundamental to challenging Benjamin's notion of the effects on the 'aura' of the original work of art through mass reproduction. Yoyo Maeght takes this point further, saying that the lithographic print preserves 'a direct record of what [the artists] were doing at that moment, with no filter.'⁹ The fact that Aimé Maeght asked the artists to create printed works for the magazine in response to the works they were exhibiting in the gallery serves to create a different kind of

⁷ Ibid. p.29

⁸ Yoyo Maeght in Nicholas Watkins *Behind the Mirror: Aimé Maeght and His Artists*, (London, 2008) p.40

⁹ Ibid. p.40

documentation of that moment in their artistic career. The magazine in effect becomes an extension of the experience of the exhibition.

Each issue of *Derrière le miroir* was published using the printing process of offset lithography. This process allowed for a larger scale of reproduction than traditional lithographic practices and so was well suited for the production of magazines with full colour reproductions. The principles of offset lithography are similar to lithography in which the image is applied to a plate, or stone, using a greasy ink or crayon. In offset lithography, however, the image on the lithographic plate is transferred onto a cylindrical rubber 'blanket' and from there onto the paper. Unlike traditional lithography, the intercession of the blanket means that the image is not reversed but appears as it does on the original.¹⁰ Does this use of mechanised processes of reproduction undermine the idea of the print as an original work of art? In the case of *Derrière le miroir*, I would argue that it does not. Maeght invited his artists to engage with the form of the print specifically within the context of the magazine. While the use of mechanised processes does represent an intermediate step between the hand of the artist and the viewer, it is nevertheless an intentional and integral part of the work's creation. In her book *The Contemporary Print: From Pre-Pop to Postmodern*, Susan Tallman also argues against the notion that the use of photomechanical processes of reproduction 'obviated the presence of originality.'¹¹ By her definition, the original print is an artwork 'developed expressly for printed form (rather than a reproduction carried out without the involvement of the artist).'¹²

The printing process was one that Maeght, as a trained lithographer, was dedicated to and he did much to dissolve any distinctions between printmaking and an artist's wider oeuvre. As Tallman points out, there is often a false distinction propagated that results in prints being regarded 'as a commercially tainted addendum to an artist's "real work".'¹³ She goes on to suggest that printmaking was often 'sequestered' from other art forms, with its own set of collectors, specialist magazines, and exhibitions.¹⁴ Is there, then, any discernable relationship between the prints in *Derrière le miroir* and the other forms of art that appeared in the gallery? Issue number 186 in 1970 (fig.3) was dedicated to an exhibition of recent

¹⁰ Susan Tallman, *The Contemporary Print: From Pre-Pop to Postmodern*, (London, 1996) p.297

¹¹ *Ibid.* p.297

¹² *Ibid.* p.297

¹³ *Ibid.* p.iii

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p.iii

sculptures by Miró. The prints that accompany the issue were produced by Miró in response to the works exhibited within the gallery space. Black and white photographs of each of the sculptural works exhibited are presented alongside the prints, highlighting to the reader the relationship between the prints and original sculptures. What the comparison also highlights is the difference between the photograph as reproduction of the original and the lithographic print. Both are a means of recording the experience of the exhibition but while the photograph performs a documentary function, the print represents a more immediate response by the artist and is, as Yoyo Maeght says, a record of the artist's creative process at that moment, 'with no filter.' In this way, *Derrière le miroir* bridges the gap in the relationship between printmaking and other art forms.

This does not mean, however, that *Derrière le miroir* did not engage with the notion of a hierarchy of artistic processes. As in the tradition of the *livre d'artiste*, a number of deluxe editions of *Derrière le miroir* were published, alongside most standard issues, on a thicker, higher quality paper such as *vélin d'Arches*. These special editions were limited to between 100 and 300 copies each and were usually signed by the artist. The deluxe issues were, of course, still considerably cheaper than a *livre d'artiste*, but even the notion of a higher grade of reproduction and the limited number of signed copies of the magazine inhibits its democratising force. The democratic potential of the magazine lies not just in increasing the accessibility of art but also in ensuring that the reader's experience of it is the same across the thousands of copies of each print run and, naturally, this is compromised by the notion of a deluxe edition.

The most obvious condition of purchasing a magazine is that one is buying a publication that exists as part of a series. Seriality is inherent in the magazine format as are the notions of novelty and regularity but while some smaller magazines may be published erratically, each edition in the series offers something new to the reader. In *Derrière le miroir*, this promise of something new for the reader is assured by its connection to the gallery's changing programme of exhibitions. The majority of issues of the magazine were monographic in accordance with the gallery's shows, thus the novelty element of the magazine is increased as one could expect entirely new work by a different artist every few months. In the introduction to *In Numbers: Serial Publications by Artists Since 1955*, Victor Brand argues that seriality in magazines must be explicit, in other words enacted, not merely a planned series that never comes to fruition:

[...] in cases where seriality is not explicit, a publication exempts itself from several characteristics fundamental to the genre, foremost being the notion of futurity, which has implications for an artist's ongoing commitment to a project and the audience's expectations of new issues.¹⁵

This element of futurity in the magazine promises a continuing relationship between the reader and publisher, in this case the Maeght gallery. Just as futurity in the magazine promises the reader new writing on, and printed work by, an artist, it also offers the artist the continuing platform for experimentation. Is this futurity, in itself, an example of the democratising ability of the magazine? For an artist such as Tàpies, who featured in seven issues of the magazine between 1967 and 1982, the experience of mounting a solo exhibition at Galerie Maeght came with the additional opportunity to produce a series of prints specifically for the format of the magazine. The connection that Maeght forged, between an artist and the magazine, therefore assured the artist of an outlet and an audience for such experimentation with printmaking. It also ensured that this work would be disseminated far beyond the limits of the exhibition, further increasing the artist's potential audience.

I adopt the same approach to *Derrière le miroir* as Brand in the study of the artists' publication; that it should be understood as a single work, 'distributed incrementally through time.'¹⁶ While there is a great deal of variation within each issue of *Derrière le miroir*, it is the cumulative whole of the magazine's four-decade run that is of interest to its democratic potential. In her article 'Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre', Margaret Beetham highlights the danger of approaching an entire magazine run as one work, suggesting that it reduces the magazine to a poor facsimile of a book, with each separate issue treated as 'incomplete sections of the whole.'¹⁷ The specific issues that Beetham addresses in this approach to historic serial publications is that they are most often encountered in libraries and archives as bound, abridged editions, often with certain pages missing or with advertisements removed. The magazine, therefore, is removed from its material specificity and context. This concern on Beetham's part is well founded as the material qualities of the magazine are, of course, obscured in such

¹⁵ Victor Brand, *In Numbers: Serial Publications by Artists Since 1955*, (Zurich: JRP/Ringier, 2009) p. 27

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 28

¹⁷ Margaret Beetham, 'Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Fall, 1989), p.96

an encounter. Such concerns, however, are not a factor in this instance, as the copies of *Derrière le miroir* that form the basis of my analysis have been retained in such a way as to preserve their material qualities. Nevertheless, Beetham's wider point does prompt the question of whether the magazine as serial publication should be considered as one whole work or potentially thousands of separate works. I argue that while every issue of *Derrière le miroir* contains a multitude of authorial voices in the form of articles, poems and the visual art itself, the overriding editorial voice is Maeght's. This is, of course, not the case in all magazines but, in this instance, the direct involvement of Maeght's gallery and printmakers in the creation of the work, and the inextricable ties between the magazine and the gallery exhibitions, suggest that the entire run of the magazine should be interpreted as one grand project in two hundred iterations.

Beetham writes that seriality in the magazine, or periodical, also implies ephemerality and that 'each number of a periodical becomes obsolete as soon as the next one comes out.'¹⁸ Again, while seriality does imply ephemerality in a periodical such as a newspaper or general interest magazine, where specific articles become outdated upon the next edition, the same cannot be said of a publication like *Derrière le miroir*. The fact that each issue focuses on the work of a different artist ensures that it does not render the preceding issue outmoded. The exhibitions to which each of the issues are linked are indeed ephemeral, lasting only a few months before the individual artworks are dispersed. It is the act of commemorating the exhibition in the form of the magazine that lends these exhibitions a sense of permanence. By recording the exhibition, and preserving some element of it within its pages, the magazine extends the reach of the gallery and offers the reader an element of the exhibition experience. Contrary to Beetham's argument, it is precisely the promise of the next issue that makes *Derrière le miroir* valuable to the reader as seriality in the magazine represents more than a continuously evolving relationship between reader and publisher and the promise of novelty; it also implies accumulation and the emergence of a collection of publications.

Over its four-decade run and two hundred separate issues, *Derrière le miroir* offered the reader the opportunity to own not just one publication or original lithograph, but to amass a collection. The magazine is an easily collectible item being lightweight, relatively inexpensive and easily distributed by mail. If one

¹⁸ Ibid. p.96

arranged a subscription with Maeght Éditeur then a collection of magazines could build over months and years with the minimum of effort. Every few months the collection is expanded with an edition on Braque or Chillida, followed by Chagall or Miró. The magazine's collectability is something that Maeght was also keen to emphasise, often publishing deluxe editions or special anniversary editions, such as issue number 92–93, *10 ans d'éditions: 1946–1956*, that marked the occasion of ten years of Maeght Éditeur. (fig.4) The issue featured photographic reproductions of all the issues of the magazine published from 1946 until 1956, emphasising not only their serial nature but also advertising the ease with which they could be collected. The novelty of each new issue of the serial publication is not something that is fleeting for the collector. The function of each issue of the magazine changes when a new issue arrives; the old issue is placed upon the shelf, or in the case of the lithographs, framed upon the wall, and becomes an object within a greater collection. What is the democratising effect of the function of the magazine as a collectible object? I suggest that the answer to this question resides in the notions of ownership and temporality within the context of collecting.

In another essay by Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Collecting', the author addresses the reader while ostensibly unpacking boxes of his books, offering 'some insight into the relationship between a collector and his possessions, into collecting rather than a collection.'¹⁹ In terms of inherent financial value, the magazine in its thousands of copies is not the equal of the *livre d'artiste*, but Benjamin asserts that every collection or library contains 'fringe areas' of lesser, book-like objects:

[...] Some people become attached to leaflets and prospectuses; others, to handwriting facsimiles or typewritten copies of unobtainable books. And certainly periodicals can form the prismatic fringes of a library.²⁰

In the essay, Benjamin recounts the joys of collecting, referring to the thrill of fortuitously acquiring a copy of Balzac's *La Peau de chagrin* from under the noses of wealthier buyers. He also tells of the negative experience of being continually outbid at an auction but nevertheless managing to find the desired book only a

¹⁹ Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking my Library: A Talk About Collecting', *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Vol. 2, 1927 – 1934*, Michael W. Jennings (ed.), (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: 2001) p.486

²⁰ Ibid. p.491

week later.²¹ In the midst of his Proustian remembrances, spurred by encountering individual books, Benjamin sets out the relationship between collector and collection as one founded on ownership.²² Ownership gives the collector control over the disparate objects within the collection. It is this notion of ownership of the publication that is at the heart of the democratic power of the magazine as *musée imaginaire*.

Obviously, the collector of *Derrière le miroir* is given the opportunity to own the magazine and prints inside due to its relative affordability, in comparison with the *livre d'artiste*, and its wide availability. This alone represents a broadening of public access to original works of contemporary art and hence a level of democratisation. But more than this, the concept of the *musée imaginaire* is founded on the ability to amass a personal collection of art imagery, over which one has control. Jean Baudrillard outlines the qualities of ownership for the collector in his essay 'The System of Collecting':

[...] the objects of our lives, as distinct from the way we make use of them at a given moment, represent something much more, something profoundly related to subjectivity: for while the object is a resistant material body, it is also, simultaneously, a mental realm over which I hold sway, a thing whose meaning is governed by myself alone. It is all my own, the object of my passion.²³

The magazine as iteration of the *musée imaginaire* gives the collector control over the mental realm of the object within the collection. The editorial choices available to the collector over both the mental and physical juxtapositions of images; which works to include and which to remove, are encapsulated within the Jarnoux photograph of Malraux in his study overseeing the proofs of his book. As Baudrillard sets out, collecting goes beyond ownership of the physical object into a sense of ownership of the concept of it too. Owning a collection of *Derrière le miroir*, therefore, extends to the realm of mental imagery of the art reproduced within. Does the fact that a collection of *Derrière le miroir* is one that is not comprised of unique objects then compromise this sense of ownership? In terms of the magazine, of course the ownership offered to the collector is mitigated by the fact that it is shared among the thousands of other individual owners of each issue. For

²¹ Ibid. pp.490-491

²² Ibid. p.491

²³ Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting' in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, *The Cultures of Collecting* (London, 1994) p.7

the creation of the *musée imaginaire*, however, there is no requirement to be the sole owner of these images, rather the importance is placed on having access to these images whenever desired.

For Benjamin, handling the collection is also a means of remembering the circumstances around each object and how it came into his possession. As Naomi Schor has pointed out, collecting for Benjamin is 'bound up with the act of remembrance, and that act is figured as profoundly magical.'²⁴ The magazine collector, like the collector of rare books, can similarly apply this sense of an object biography. The object as aide memoire, however, is compromised in this case by the fact that each issue of the magazine is already bound up with a preconceived act of commemoration. Every issue of *Derrière le miroir* was published to mark an occasion; the December 1965 issue marks the inauguration of the Maeght foundation but most often each issue marks a new exhibition at Galerie Maeght. In this lingering connection to the activities of the gallery, and to Maeght as a gallerist, the democratising potential of the magazine to the collector is inhibited. Every issue reflects an exhibition, and thus an artist and artworks, selected by Maeght. The role of the magazine collector as connoisseur and creator of his or her own private collection is mitigated by Maeght's own continued curatorial presence. While the collector of the magazine is given access to the original prints, and can rearrange these works as they please, it is Maeght, as publisher, who places the works within the context of the magazine in the first place. To buy into the magazine as a series, therefore is to buy into the connoisseurship of Maeght Éditeur.

Following the death of Aimé Maeght in September 1981, *Derrière le Miroir* also came to an end. The final issue of the magazine also marked its 250th edition. *Derrière le miroir* represents a version of Malraux's *musée imaginaire* whereby the reader is offered access, not to reproduced versions of original artworks, but to original artworks created through the process of reproduction. Malraux's *musée imaginaire* was predicated on the symbolic replacement of the museum as a result of the free circulation of images of art in books. I argue that the museum, or in this case the gallery of contemporary art, is not symbolically usurped by the dissemination of artworks within the pages of the magazine, but instead the gallery now increases its reach to exist within the myriad private collections of the magazine. The important differentiating factor between Malraux's books of art

²⁴ Schor, Naomi, 'Collecting Paris', *The Cultures of Collecting* (London, 1994) p.254

photographs and *Derrière le miroir* is that the magazine is not just a product of the gallery but its content is actively shaped by the activities of the gallery, specifically the gallery programme of exhibitions. The democratic power of the format of the magazine resides not only in the fact that it was less expensive and more widely available than either Maeght's *livres d'artiste* or the artworks on display within the gallery, but also in its inherent qualities of seriality and collectability. The underlying principle of the serial publication is that it allowed for a continuing relationship between the artist, gallery and reader of the magazine over an extended period of time. The reader becomes privy to new works of art and critical writing on art on a regular basis, implying a direct connection with the immediate concerns of the artist at that moment. The experience of the exhibition is preserved in the form of original lithographs juxtaposed with photographic reproductions and then disseminated far beyond the space of the gallery. The inherent collectability of the magazine, its function as a means of acquiring and collecting original artworks, exists alongside its function as an object of commemoration. This gives the reader, as collector, a level of curatorial agency and control over both the physical and mental collation and placement of works of art within their collection. This is the basis for the democratic power of the *musée imaginaire*. *Derrière le miroir* is an example of the democratising power of the magazine but it is a qualified one. The magazine functions outside of the gallery but the connections that remain, between the gallery and the magazine, serve to strengthen the position of the gallery as the principal site for the display and dissemination of works of art. The democratic ability of the magazine is therefore compromised by the fact that it reinforces the operations of the art market within which the gallery functions.

II: From *Der Querschnitt* to *iris.time unlimited*: the forms and functions of the gallery magazine

Derrière le miroir was not the only magazine published by Maeght Éditeur, nor was it the first. Maeght published the magazine *Pierre à feu* in 1944, a year before he opened his Paris gallery. The magazine was the product of a literary group of the same name that Maeght had founded with the poet Jacques Kober. In conversation with Ann Dumas, Yoyo Maeght tells her that it was Kober who invented the titles of both *Pierre à feu* and *Derrière le miroir* and that he would go on to be the first director of the gallery, embodying the link between Maeght's work as a gallerist and as a publisher of contemporary poetry.²⁵ The magazine began with each issue covering a different theme but, like *Derrière le miroir*, soon became monographic in focus.²⁶ Another of Maeght's magazines, *Chroniques de l'Art Vivant* began as a supplement in *Derrière le miroir*. An edition accompanied every issue of the larger magazine until 1968 when the supplement was launched as a separate title that ran until 1975. It was characterised by a commitment to cover 'everything' and thus widen the scope of the gallery's coverage of art to include 'film, theatre, music and dance.'²⁷ Other titles published by Maeght included *L'Éphémère* and *Argile*. The former was a more literary-focused journal that ran from 1966 to 1972 and included contributions from Leiris, Georges Bataille, Francis Ponge and Samuel Beckett. *Argile* was first published in 1973 and ran until 1981, with its main focus on contemporary poetry. Following Maeght's death, the gallery continued to publish magazines including *Noise*, a larger scale magazine that, like *Derrière le miroir*, combined text with original lithographs and ran from 1985 to 1994.

It is clear, from even this cursory glance, that Maeght was a committed publisher of magazines, alongside his practice as gallerist and publisher of *livres d'artiste*. The interdisciplinary focus of many of his titles, encompassing visual art, literature, music, film and dance, points towards the use of the magazine to reconcile visual art with popular culture and everyday life. The broad range of titles that he published, and that continued to be published after his death, is also indicative of a wider relationship that existed between gallerists and different forms of the gallery magazine. Hans Brill's essay in *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines*, traces the lineage of the gallery magazine from Louis Martinet's *Le*

²⁵ Watkins 2008, p.40

²⁶ Yoyo Maeght, *The Maeght Family: A Passion for Modern Art*, (New York, 2007) p.226

²⁷ Ibid. p.226

Courrier Artistique (1861 - 1865) and Durand-Ruel's *L'Art dans les Deux Mondes* (1890 - 1891) to Maeght's *Derrière le miroir*.²⁸ There were, of course, many further examples of the gallery magazine in Europe in the decades preceding, and during, the run of *Derrière le miroir*.

The potential of the magazine to be produced and distributed at relatively low cost made it an attractive form of publishing for gallerist-publishers who sought to promote their galleries and their artists widely but were often without recourse to the funds of larger, more established publishing houses. What follows is a brief account of the relationship between galleries and the form of the magazine in the twentieth century in France, Germany and the UK, asking what are the links between the content of the magazine and the curatorial activities of the gallery? What are the various means by which gallerists engaged with the magazine? I argue that the magazine went beyond its function as a means of promoting, publicising and disseminating critical writing and reproductions of artworks, and became a means by which to distil and disseminate the ethos and character of the gallery and of the gallerist.

While *Derrière le miroir* represents the magazine as a lavishly-produced publication dedicated to reproducing and disseminating original artwork, there is a tradition of gallerists engaging with the magazine in ways that are more directly provocative, even lighthearted, and satirical. An important characteristic of gallery magazines, that are by their nature relatively small-scale publications, is that they often reflect the idiosyncrasies of the gallerists themselves as much as their business, artistic or political leanings. This is certainly the case in the magazine *Der Querschnitt*, published from 1921 until 1936 by the gallerist Alfred Flechtheim (1878 - 1937) (fig.5). As the title, 'the cross-section' suggests, the magazine represented a multitude of interests and covered a broad range of topics. Flechtheim had opened his first gallery in Dusseldorf before the war but later moved his business to Berlin where he opened a gallery in 1921. From the early stages of his career, however, he had published 'gossipy illustrated brochures to promote his exhibitions and works for sale.'²⁹ As Erika Esau writes in her article 'The Magazine of Enduring Value: *Der Querschnitt* (1921 - 36) and the World of

²⁸ Hans Brill, 'The Fin de Siecle', in Trevor Fawcett and Clive Phillpot (eds.), *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines*, (London, 1976), p.24

²⁹ Erika Esau, 'The Magazine of Enduring Value: *Der Querschnitt* (1921 - 36) and the World of Illustrated Magazines', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, Vol.3, Peter Brooker, Sascha Bru, Andrew Thacker and Christian Weikop (eds.), (Oxford, 2013) p.869

Illustrated Magazines', these initial publications of Flechtheim's were an unusual blend of commentary and photographs of artworks alongside sporting heroes of Flechtheim's, particularly boxers.³⁰ This '*Marginalien*', after some refinement, would eventually come to take the form of *Der Querschnitt*.

The magazine was published with the aid of Flechtheim's friend Hermann von Wedderkop, who would take more and more editorial control as the years went on. While Wedderkop helped to make the magazine more sophisticated in appearance, it still offered articles on the same broad variety of interests favoured by Flechtheim. Thus, alongside the coverage of artists such as Cézanne, Picasso, Matisse and Max Ernst, can be found an essay by the boxer Hans Breitensträter on his first victory.³¹ In its initial years, *Der Querschnitt* could be counted among the best examples of a greater tradition of humorous and satirical magazines in Berlin. The famously satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*, which ran from 1896 to 1967, offered a similar combination of biting humour, current events and colourful illustrations as *Der Querschnitt*. The older title had been well known for lampooning the leading politicians of the Wilhelmine era, especially the Kaiser, only to shift to a more patriotic tone during the years of the First World War.³² What is the effect of the juxtaposition of high art and popular culture and sport in *Der Querschnitt*? And what does it suggest about Flechtheim as a gallerist that his gallery magazine echoes the satirical bent of magazines like *Simplicissimus*?

Malcolm Gee notes the divide among Berlin dealers at the time between those who favoured German artists, such as Fritz Gurlitt and those who would show German artists within the wider context of European Modernism, like Flechtheim and the Cassirers.³³ Flechtheim worked closely with the Parisian gallerists Wilhelm Uhde and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, importing art by French artists into Germany.³⁴ His favouring of artists from beyond Germany extended to the writers whose work he included in his magazine. Flechtheim often published articles in the author's original language, most often English or French, which lent the magazine a distinctly cosmopolitan and internationalist air. The fact that *Der Querschnitt* echoed the tone of more overtly political, satirical magazines and

³⁰ Ibid. 870

³¹ Ibid. p.872

³² Steven Heller, *Merz to Émigré and Beyond: Avant-Garde Magazine Design of the Twentieth Century*, (London, 2014) p.21-22

³³ Malcolm Gee, 'The Berlin Art World, 1918 – 1933', in Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk, Jill Steward (eds.) *The City in Central Europe: culture and society from 1800 to the present*, (Aldershot, 1999) p.71

³⁴ Ibid. p.72

included art and writing from artists beyond Germany demonstrates Flechtheim's desire for his magazine to reflect his personality and passions. With the magazine as advertisement of Flechtheim, the reader could be assured, that he would take a similar approach to his practice as a gallerist and only deal in art in which he was passionate.

From November 1924 until April 1933, publishing *Der Querschnitt* was done under the aegis of Propyläen-Verlag, itself an imprint of the publishing house Ullstein Verlag. The Ullstein Verlag was one of the largest and most successful in Germany at the time and was managed by the five Ullstein brothers. The Propyläen-Verlag was founded in 1920 specifically to publish 'sophisticated literary works and graphic portfolios.'³⁵ Hermann Ullstein, one of the publishing house owners, described the audience for *Der Querschnitt* as 'the well-read, the academics and self-satisfied intellectuals who preferred a bemused smile to loud guffaws.'³⁶ With the financial support of such a large publishing house, Flechtheim could now ensure a new issue of *Der Querschnitt* every month.³⁷ Despite the far grander scale of the publishing enterprise under the Ullsteins, *Der Querschnitt* retained its trademark acerbic and satirical style. This is largely due to the presence of Wedderkop, who shared much of the same sense of humour as Flechtheim, as editor. The rise of the National Socialists to power in 1933 led to a forced curtailing of the Jewish Ullstein family's business interests and, in 1934, the brothers were forced to sell off all of their businesses in Germany.³⁸ *Der Querschnitt* continued to be published, but was now under the control of Kurt Wolff-Verlag, a company that had ties to the ruling National Socialist government.³⁹ As Esau notes, the content of the magazine during its last years deteriorated both visually and in terms of the written contributions: 'The text [...] concentrated on trivia, German films and travelogues with Nationalist overtones.'⁴⁰ This later content, which marked a steady decline until the magazine ceased publication altogether in 1936, was anaemic in comparison with the period of Flechtheim's direct involvement. This decline was also seen in *Simplicissimus*, which also suffered under the censorship of the National Socialists and was much diminished, compared to its heyday in Berlin before the First World War.

³⁵ Jürgen Holstein (ed.), *The Book Cover in the Weimar Republic*, (Cologne, 2015) p.17

³⁶ Hermann Ullstein, in Esau 2013, p.876

³⁷ *ibid.* p.875.

³⁸ Holstein 2015, p.17

³⁹ Esau 2013, P.881

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.881

The sphere of art publishing in Wilhelmine Berlin was also greatly shaped by the activities of the gallerist and publisher cousins Bruno and Paul Cassirer and the publisher turned gallerist Herwarth Walden. Walden founded the magazine *Der Sturm* in 1910 (fig.6). For the first year it included both literature and music but had shifted focus to visual art by its 100th issue, when Walden opened the Der Sturm Galerie in Berlin in 1912.⁴¹ *Der Sturm* featured the work of German Expressionist artists alongside features on Italian Futurists and the Cubists in France.⁴² Steven Heller writes that the magazine created controversy when it demonstrated its advocacy of 'modernism as well as of topical issues, including birth control and women's rights.'⁴³ Malcolm Gee also noted that *Der Sturm* was distinctive by the way in which Walden used 'polemic and invective' in his editorials.⁴⁴ Both Paul and Bruno Cassirer were, at various times, gallerists and publishers who worked together and then independently. Both were also heavily involved in promoting the work of the Berlin Secession alongside works by Manet and French Impressionist artists.⁴⁵ The Cassirers opened their first gallery on Viktoriastrasse near the Tiergarten in Berlin in 1898, where they also published books by some of the most influential museum directors in the country, including Wilhelm Bode.⁴⁶ By August 1901, however, their professional differences caused them to divide and separate their business interests. Paul would retain sole control of the gallery and Bruno would take exclusive control of the publishing house. The division was accompanied by Paul's pledge not to engage in publishing in competition with his former partner for a period of seven years. Soon after, Bruno Cassirer founded the art magazine *Kunst und Künstler* in 1902. The magazine was devoted to visual art and, as Malcolm Gee writes, was clearly influenced by the earlier Art Nouveau magazine *Pan*, which had been founded by Otto Julius Bierbaum and the critic Julius Meier-Graefe in Berlin in 1895. Bruno Cassirer had been involved with the original run of the magazine, which closed down in 1900. In 1910, after the agreed period of time had passed, it was a revival of *Pan* that marked Paul Cassirer's return to magazine publishing. Paul Cassirer's *Pan* focused

⁴¹ Malcolm Gee, 'The Cultured City', in Malcolm Gee and Tim Kirk (eds.) *Printed Matters: Printing, Publishing and Urban Culture in Europe in the Modern Period*, (Aldershot, 2002) p.157

⁴² Heller 2014, p.71

⁴³ Ibid. p.71

⁴⁴ Gee 2002, p.158

⁴⁵ Gee 1999, p.64

⁴⁶ Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany*, (Cambridge, 1989) p. 71

on art and literature and while it too would close in 1915, in the interim it received contributions from writers such as Frank Wedekind and artists such as Franz Marc. The publications of Flechtheim, Walden and the Cassirers, while all associated with a specific movement and group of artists, also championed art from other movements and from outside Germany's borders and thus promoted an internationalism in avant-garde practice in general and in Berlin gallery publishing specifically. The concept of the magazine as a unifying force is a theme seen later, in the *London Gallery Bulletin*, which was predominantly but not exclusively a Surrealist publication.

On 1 April 1938, the London Gallery at 28 Cork Street opened under the new management of E.L.T. Mesens and Roland Penrose. The gallery had been founded in 1936 and had been operated by Mrs Clifford Norton and Mrs Cunningham Strettell, until Mesens took over the directorship, with the financial backing of Penrose. In his published scrapbook, Penrose outlined the ethos of the gallery and highlighted the central importance of its magazine, *The London Bulletin*:

The main centre for activities in London, however, became the London Gallery, a small gallery in Cork Street supported by me and managed by Mesens, who had decided to transfer his interests from Brussels and set to work vigorously to establish a centre which could unite the activities of French, Belgian, Spanish and English surrealists in exhibitions and in a magazine, "The London Bulletin". Aided by a medley of literary members of the group, it was edited and published by him in English and French. Its originality and vitality and the lack of any rival gave the magazine considerable success, which continued until the outbreak of war, its last double number appearing in the summer of 1940 after the closing of the gallery in Cork Street.⁴⁷

Mesens had previously been director of the Palais des Beaux Arts in Brussels and was an artist within the Belgian Surrealist circle. Penrose and Mesens had worked together on the organising committee for the International Surrealist Exhibition, which opened in London at the New Burlington Galleries on 11 June 1936. The organising committee also included Herbert Read and Paul Nash as well as André Breton, Paul Éluard, Georges Hugnet and Man Ray.⁴⁸ The exhibition had marked the official introduction of Surrealism into the United Kingdom and, as Penrose made clear in his scrapbook, the gallery was intended to unite the various geographical strands of Surrealism in one place.

⁴⁷ Roland Penrose, *Scrap Book 1900–1981*, (London, 1981), p.71

⁴⁸ Dawn Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, (London, 1978) p.347

In the leaflet published to announce the London Gallery's new management, Mesens and Penrose declared their intention that the traditional catalogue exhibition would be replaced by their new title, *The London Gallery Bulletin*. The magazine, they wrote, 'is intended to fulfil a role beyond the possibilities of the usual catalogue, which is composed merely of a list of titles.'⁴⁹ The monthly magazine would include essays, criticism, poetry and illustrations of the work exhibited in the gallery. The bulletin also planned to include notes of artistic activity across the city including exhibitions at rival galleries. This was a promise made good on from the first issue, which included advertisements of exhibitions at the Mayor Gallery and Peggy Guggenheim's Guggenheim-Jeune Gallery as well as an advertisement for Tériade's *Verve* magazine.⁵⁰ Finally, the magazine would boast of a range of contributors that included André Breton, Alberto Cavalcanti, Paul Éluard, Paul Nougé, Benjamin Perét, Herbert Read and Penrose. Such a list displayed the magazine's internationalist leanings as well as its credentials as successor to both the International Exhibition of Surrealism and Breton's French Surrealist reviews. While the stated aims of the gallery were made clear by Mesens and Penrose, what does the content of the magazine reveal about how the ethos of the gallery was made manifest?

The first issue of the magazine was also published in April 1938 to accompany an exhibition on Magritte (fig.7). Among its contents were essays on the artist by Herbert Read and Paul Nougé alongside a list of the works on display. Nougé's essay is a reminder of the magazine's function as exhibition catalogue when the author writes 'One may remind the visitors to an exhibition of paintings by René Magritte that the images with which they are met here derive from a mental exploration which is highly heterogeneous and complex.'⁵¹ The first issue also included an account of the Degenerate Art Exhibition that had recently been transferred from Munich to Berlin, a poem by Éluard, translated by Man Ray and a note by Alberto Cavalcanti, 'Introducing ELT Mesens':

⁴⁹ 'London Gallery: New Management' leaflet, reproduced in *The Star Alphabet* by E.L.T. Mesens: *Dada & Surrealism in Brussels, Paris & London*, [exh. cat.], (Ostend., 2013) p.170

⁵⁰ *London Gallery Bulletin*, no. 1, (London, April 1938)

⁵¹ Paul Nougé, 'Final Advice', *London Gallery Bulletin*, no. 1, (London, April 1938), p.6

In past centuries English artists went abroad so often for study and work that English art dealt far too much with Venice or the Lac Léman. Now things have changed. Both Kurfürstendamm and Montparnasse are no more than ordinary 'quartiers', haunted by a group of Bohemian ghosts, ghosts so frightened, so pale, and so devoid of mystery that they have become hopelessly dull. Running away from the Continental hurry-scurry, the English artists are living longer in Chelsea or Bloomsbury, where it is their turn to welcome foreign visitors.⁵²

Mesens, Cavalcanti wrote, was one such foreign visitor who had been welcomed into London artistic circles. It is clear that, from the very first issue, Mesens was positioning London, and the London Gallery in particular, as the successor to Paris and Berlin as epicentre of avant-garde artistic practice.

The second issue, published in May 1938, followed similar editorial lines to the first; a mix of short essays, poetry and notes on avant-garde artistic concerns (fig.8). An article by Breton on Sigmund Freud's reported arrest and harassment by the National Socialists in Vienna sat alongside the catalogue of the gallery's Miró exhibition and a poem on Miró by Eluard. This issue also demonstrated the means by which the magazine was a useful outlet to respond to criticism of the art displayed in the gallery. The issue featured the editorial article 'Sidelights on the Magritte Exhibition'. In it, the author takes to task the popular press and their art critics, specifically their universally negative approach to the gallery's Magritte exhibition:

Among a mass of inaccuracies we find that two leading newspapers have even neglected to spell Magritte's name correctly. The *Daily Telegraph* refers to him as "M. Maigritte" and the *Observer* as "René Margitte". The following extracts from the press may be of interest: *Sunday Times*. '... It must be confessed that after the first shock of his truly exciting inventiveness has worn off [...] his lack of inventiveness as a painter becomes painfully obvious.'⁵³

The article goes on to quote from the art critics of *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Observer*, and *The Scotsman*. The latter had the particularly scathing view that Magritte would have probably wished to illustrate the work of Dante or Shakespeare as Blake and Delacroix had but found that this had already been done:

⁵² Alberto Cavalcanti, 'Introducing E.L.T. Mesens', *London Gallery Bulletin*, no.1, (London, April 1938), p.19

⁵³ 'Sidelights on the Magritte Exhibition', *London Bulletin*, no. 2, (London, May 1938), p.18

They therefore pursue an Art with marked and dismal affinities with that of lunatics, savages and six year-olds. I do not propose to describe these pictures. Many of them are quite wonderfully disgusting. They had this effect upon me. Almost they persuaded me to be a Nazi. Goebbels, at any rate, will not tolerate such stuff.⁵⁴

In following the hyperbolic criticism in most national newspapers with favourable reviews from two 'unjaded' poets, *The London Bulletin* sets itself up as a lone voice of dissent against 'those who are delegated to keep the public in touch with all that is new.'⁵⁵

The idea of the gallery magazine as an avant-garde bulwark against external criticism is made explicit in the October 1938 issue, largely dedicated to Picasso's *Guernica*, which was being shown at the New Burlington Galleries from 4-29 October (fig.9). That issue opens with the editorial statement:

Since its appearance in April of this year LONDON BULLETIN has assumed the position of the only avant-garde publication in this country concerned with contemporary poetry and art. Although its first number was practically a monograph, by various hands, concentrated on the work of the Surrealist René Magritte, it has rapidly extended its range, reflecting besides exhibitions of painting, other activities of living interest in its pages.⁵⁶

With an eye towards securing its longevity, the editorial then asks its readers to support the magazine by purchasing subscriptions. Dawn Ades notes the use of the term avant-garde here, as opposed to specifically Surrealist, to describe the publication. The reason for this was the London Gallery's acceptance of artists outside of the official Surrealist movement and the lack of the 'extreme complexity and sectarianism' that had riven avant-garde movements in Paris in earlier decades.⁵⁷ The result is that London Gallery could define itself, through its publication, without opposing other avant-garde movements. Instead, they were able to focus their attentions on common enemies; first on Realist artists, followed by the bourgeoisie and, finally, fascism.⁵⁸ In these three issues from the magazine's first year, one can see how it enacted the stated goals of the London Gallery by giving a platform to the multitude of voices of the avant-garde movement that

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.18

⁵⁵ Ibid. p.18

⁵⁶ *London Bulletin*, no. 6, (London, October 1938), p.i

⁵⁷ Ades, p.351

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.353

coalesced around Mesens's gallery and neighbouring galleries. The magazine was able to unite the gallery's artists under its banner and thus aided in the act of self-positioning of the gallery at the centre of contemporary avant-garde artistic practice. The function of the magazine as an outlet wherein Mesens could note, and fight back against, criticism from outside the movement only served to solidify the various artists regardless of geographical, political or artistic differences that may have existed between them. The idea of the magazine as a rallying tool for challenging criticism is one that appears again in the context of the post-war gallery with the publication *iris.time unlimited*.

Iris Clert opened her gallery at 3 Rue des Beaux-Arts, Paris with an exhibition of paintings by Dora Tuynman in 1956. Her former gallery assistant, Robert Pincus-Witten remembers that there was almost no office space and the building's toilet in the courtyard was used as a storage space for works of art: 'You can easily imagine the threat to the Ad Reinhardts and Lucio Fontanas that were casually scuttled there.'⁵⁹ From this shabby, one-room space, Clert represented artists including Yves Klein, Arman, Jean Tinguely, Takis, and Reinhardt. The gallery is most famous as the site of a number of landmark exhibitions, beginning with the *Micro-Salon d'Avril* in April 1957 wherein Clert showed the work of over sixty-five artists, with each exhibited work no larger than a postcard. In 1958, Clert opened Klein's exhibition *La Vide*, in which the artist had completely emptied the gallery of all objects except for a large display case painted white. Two Republican Guards, in full uniform, were posted at the gallery door to welcome the invited guests to the exhibition. The guards were, as Pincus-Witten writes, a last-minute addition after the municipal order was rescinded that would have seen the Place de la Concorde flooded with blue light.⁶⁰ Two years later, Arman countered Klein with his exhibition, *Le Plein*, in which the entire gallery space was filled with rubbish and other detritus. So full was the gallery that the invited guests could not gain entry to the space. When not mounting exhibitions, a usual day at the gallery would involve Clert often arriving late in the afternoon and making phone calls to her astrologer before conducting business with her artists over the phone, 'several of whom were very difficult indeed.'⁶¹ Despite the picture Pincus-Witten paints of the near-chaotic approach that Clert took to her role as a gallerist, it is clear that she was adept at

⁵⁹ Robert Pincus-Witten, 'Memories of Iris', *La Révolte d'Iris*, [Exh. cat.] Luxembourg & Dayan, (London, 2015) p.2

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.3

⁶¹ Ibid. p.2

generating publicity through grand curatorial gestures for the benefit of both the artists and herself. Exhibitions devoted to such grand spectacle prompt a question as to how did Clert's curatorial bombast translated into the form of the publication?

The first issue of *iris.time unlimited* was published on 6 October 1962 (fig.10). As would be the case in all of the future editions, the newspaper-style magazine comprised only four pages and was printed on Bible paper. A portrait of Iris appeared in the top-left corner as part of the masthead, with the top right corner given over to a photograph of the artist.⁶² The various articles and advertisements were arranged in columns, with stories continuing from the front page to the inside pages, again in the manner of a newspaper. Clert described the foundation of her magazine as being humour:

My little newspaper started as a joke but became a work of art itself. It is a symbiosis of mystification and demystification where humour holds all the rights. [...] The release of iris-time caused a stir in the art world.⁶³

The response to the magazine, as described by Clert, was to marvel at the idea of it but to suggest that it could not possibly last.⁶⁴ Though Clert was listed as director of the magazine, the editorial duties were credited to 'le Brain Trust'. Most days at the gallery would involve a meeting of the 'brain trust', a group of artists and friends of Clert who assisted her with various aspects of her business. One such task was the editing of the gallery newspaper. The artist Brô, whom Clert represented, was primarily responsible for editing the magazine, in particular his 'Brô notes' section, which were a regular feature. Clert displayed a talent for using current events and satire as an opportunity for publicity in the magazine. It so happened that when she came to exhibit the work of Brô in the gallery, Charles de Gaulle had asked the French people to respond to a referendum on universal suffrage in French Presidential elections, with an answer of 'oui ou non'. Clert used the political context to title her next exhibition, and headline of the magazine 'Le Référendum: Oui à Brô'.⁶⁵ Such punning humour would become a constant in the magazine, often reflecting on the humour inherent to the work of the artists themselves.

⁶² Iris Clert, *iris.time l'Artventure*, (Paris, 2003)p.296

⁶³ ['Mon petit journal commencé à la blague deviendra une oeuvre d'art en soi. C'est une symbiose de mystification et démystification où l'humour a tous les droits. [...]La parution d'*Iris-Time* provoque un remous dans le monde des arts.'] Ibid. p.290-291

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.291

⁶⁵ Ibid. p.288

The May 1963 issue of the magazine was dedicated to the American artist William Copley. The magazine is dated to the exhibition opening date of 13 May and was published in an edition of 4,000. The 'headline' and title of the exhibition was *Les Suffragettes Érotiques de Bill Copley*. Under the English title 'Sexy Suffragettes', appears the text 'Prohibition Milk Cocktail'. Clert explains the background to the exhibition and edition of the magazine:

My friend Bill Copley went back to the U.S.A, leaving me the works of his next exhibition: Sexy Suffragettes. They were small, beautiful women of a mocking eroticism, who seemed to come straight out of a cartoon. These paintings were happy, colourful, full of humour.⁶⁶

The allusion to the 'milk cocktail' was Clert making fun of Copley's wife Noma's exhortation that there must be no alcohol at the exhibition preview and that the whole affair should be very serious.⁶⁷ Clert, it seems, was unable to comply without referring to the situation humorously. The front-page story underneath a black and white photograph of one of Copley's paintings, is a horoscope by Clert's astrologer Elzine, explaining 'why everything is so bad.'⁶⁸ Inside the magazine appears a limerick, in English under the title of 'Our readers write to us', provided by Marcel Duchamp, a close friend of the artist:

There once was a painter named Copley
who never would miss a good lay
and to make his paintings erotic
instead of brushes, he simply used his prick.⁶⁹

Two short essays are provided by the art critics Patrick Waldberg and Julien Alvard. In Waldberg's essay, the critic remarks on the humour that pervades Copley's work:

⁶⁶ ['Mon ami Bill Copley était reparti aux U.S.A. en me laissant les oeuvres de sa prochaine exposition: Les suffragettes érotiques. C'étaient de petites bonnes femmes d'un érotisme moqueur qui avaient l'air de sortir tout droit d'un 'cartoon'. Ces tableaux étaient joyeux, colorés, pleins d'humour.'] Ibid. p.296

⁶⁷ Ibid. p.296

⁶⁸ *iris.time unlimited*, no.6, (Paris, 13 May 1963) pp.1-2

⁶⁹ Marcel Duchamp, *iris.time unlimited*, no.6, (Paris, 13 May 1963) p.2

The fun of Copley, his laugh like Martha Raye, the efficiency of his painted puns, his punchy and salacious inventions, should not make us forget his melancholy. It introduces between him and his work a distance sufficient for it to take off.⁷⁰

Clert's magazine, with its recipes, puns, limericks and horoscopes, is a perfect accompaniment to exhibiting the work of artists who also draw on humorous tropes and wordplay, like Copley. It also reflects those landmark curatorial interventions at her gallery by both Klein and Arman in its desire to shock the viewer, or reader, out of a sense of complacency.

Such was the integral nature of the magazine to Clert's gallery that when the contemporary art gallery Luxembourg & Dayan staged an exhibition in homage to Clert's *Micro-Salon* at the Frieze Masters art fair in London in 2015, it was accompanied by their own version of an edition of *iris.time unlimited*. The front page of the recreation of the magazine features a translated text by Clert dated 1968.⁷¹ In it, she lambasts the French bourgeoisie whom she claims do not understand the nature of her artists' work:

Narrow-minded Bourgeois, will you forever make mistakes? In art you want reliable values. But you are so conditioned by advertising that you are unable to pay attention to your instincts. We try to shake you, to stir you awake, but you laugh. The same artworks you sneered at, we speak of them and describe them using eloquent phrases, present them in beautiful frames, increase their prices horrendously, and finally, you foolishly follow. [...] Despite the scandal films, despite the May '68 movement, despite everything we do to help you out of your *gangu*, you misunderstand everything. [...] What the hell will it take for you to finally understand?!

There is an obvious synergy between Clert's curatorial and publishing practices in which she challenges, even harangues, the viewer for their lack of appreciation and understanding of the avant-garde art that she espouses. The magazine is pure Clert; from the puns and the horoscopes by the astrologer who visited her gallery daily, to the excoriation of the bourgeois collector. The magazine is an act of self-promotion as much as promoting the artists that Clert represents. In her challenges to the reader, both sarcastic and serious, Clert establishes her position as dealer

⁷⁰ ['La drôlerie de Copley, son rire à la Martha Raye, l'efficacité de ses calembours peints, ses inventions percutantes et salaces ne doivent pas nous faire oublier sa mélancolie. Elle introduit entre lui et son oeuvre une distance suffisante pour que celle-ci prenne le large.'] Ibid. p.3

⁷¹ The same text, in the original French, also appears at the end of Clert's autobiography.

who is exceptional in their approach and championing of contemporary art. There is something telling, also, in Luxembourg & Dayan choosing to reproduce this specific text on the cover of their own version of *iris.time unlimited* that accompanied their show of work by Klein, Tinguely, Arman and Copley, within the context of the art fair. Clert castigates the philistinism of the French bourgeois collector, who cannot see that the art they collect at vastly inflated prices is the art of yesterday while they sneer at the avant-garde art of today. As part of the contemporary dealer's strategy it is an exhortation to the collector, however bluntly expressed, to put their faith in the connoisseurship of the gallerist.

Conclusion

Before the first stone was laid on Maeght's foundation in Saint-Paul-de-Vence, he had already spent nearly two decades amassing a publicly accessible collection of contemporary art in the form of his gallery magazine. Where the other examples of the gallery magazine discussed here demonstrate that this type of publication was suited to experimentation and generating publicity with a tone of informality, Maeght goes beyond this and uses the magazine as a means of directly distributing art to the public. *Derrière le miroir* democratised the process of collecting art by making original artworks by contemporary artists easily available. Like Malraux's *musée imaginaire*, the reader is given the opportunity to engage with art on their own terms via the publication, but unlike Malraux's conception, the reader becomes a collector of original artworks and not merely reproductions of art. This relationship between the reader and the magazine allows them to experience contemporary art outside of the literal space of the gallery. The magazine also changes the means by which the exhibition is recorded in the catalogue as, alongside photographic reproductions of the art on display, sit new works created to mark the occasion of the exhibition and, thus, become an extension to it. While Maeght's magazine stretches the boundaries of the gallery, however, it does not break them as his gallery remains at the epicentre of the magazine's content and means of production. Thus, the magazine represents the extension of Maeght's influence as a gallerist and not a diminution of the power of the gallery as locus for the viewer's experience of contemporary art.

In answering the question of why gallerists turned to the form of the magazine as part of their publishing activities, it becomes clear that the magazine became an essential adjunct to their wider curatorial and dealing strategy. The magazine could be deployed in a number of ways; like Clert, it could be used to entertain, or to shock and challenge the reader out of a sense of complacency; Flechtheim used the magazine as a means of aligning himself with the wider publishing zeitgeist while championing international artists and indulging his own passions; the Cassirers and Walden offered their magazines as an outlet and explicit support to the Secessionists and Expressionists; Mesens used the magazine as a means of unifying and defending a disparate group of artists, across Europe, under one banner. Each represents the distillation and dissemination of the ethos and character of the gallerist. Each magazine was also geared toward building international networks and finding audiences for the artists that the gallerists

represented. The magazine, as a relatively inexpensive and easily reproduced publication, gave the gallerist licence to be experimental and daring in their approach. Thus, the publications produced were often more directly indicative of the gallerist's personality as much as their professional activities.

Chapter Four

Thinking Outside the Book: Seth SiegelauB and the publication as alternative site of display and dissemination, 1968 – 2013

Seth SiegelauB (1941 – 2013) owned his New York gallery for less than two years in the mid-1960s and yet his influence as a gallerist, curator, collector and publisher of Conceptual art extends far beyond this short-lived venture.¹ SiegelauB began publishing works by Conceptual artists in the form of catalogue-exhibitions in 1968, making his catalogues the means by which Conceptual art was both exhibited and disseminated. SiegelauB's catalogue-exhibitions subverted the norms of exhibiting and collecting art in the twentieth century by attempting to shift the primary site of the display and dissemination of art from the gallery to the publication. The move away from the traditions of the gallery network and art market naturally raises the issue of the democratic function of the Conceptual art publication.

The context of Conceptual art in the late 1960s, particularly the move by Conceptual artists towards the dematerialisation of the art object, coupled with the desire to contest the traditions of the commercial gallery system, had a profound effect on the creation of SiegelauB's publications. Conceptual artists and allied curators, critics and dealers challenged the hegemony of the gallery as the principal site for the exhibition and sale of art by creating idea-based art that could be easily displayed and distributed in alternative spaces, even contained within a box, an envelope or a book. Consequently, the format of the exhibition catalogue was

¹ In 1964 Seth SiegelauB opened his gallery, Seth SiegelauB Contemporary Art, in a small first-floor space at 16 West Fifty-Sixth Street. The gallery was just a few blocks away from the intersection of Fifty-Seventh Street and Madison Avenue, the epicentre of the network of commercial galleries in New York. Arne Glimcher had opened his Pace Gallery, at 32 East Fifty-Seventh Street, the previous year and other notable residents of this famed gallery sector included Betty Parsons Gallery, The Sidney Janis Gallery and The Pierre Matisse Gallery. SiegelauB had set up shop in close proximity to some of the most established and successful gallerists operating in New York. Unlike his illustrious neighbours, however, SiegelauB's time as a gallerist was relatively short. SiegelauB would close his gallery permanently in the spring of 1966 due to the burden of rent and other financial overheads that resulted in him being 'forced into a totally artificial rhythm that had nothing to do with art or exhibitions.' (*Seth SiegelauB: Beyond Conceptual Art*, Cologne, 2016) p.52

afforded an opportunity to go beyond simply recording the exhibition of Conceptual art and to act as the site of its display as well as the method of its distribution. At the same time Siegelauub was publishing his catalogue exhibitions, there was a flourishing of alternative, artist-led spaces in New York. This was complemented by the role of artists' magazines and the underground press in distributing art directly to the public, free from the constraints of the gallery system.

The questions that Siegelauub's catalogue-exhibitions raise within the history of the gallerist as publisher are: to what extent can the book act as an alternative space to the gallery for the display and dissemination of art? What are the material properties of the catalogue-exhibition as an object, and how do they relate to the art displayed within? In publishing specifically dematerialised art, are the material properties of the book significant or can they continue to be replaced by advances in technological reproduction? How does the form of the catalogue-exhibition democratise the process of engaging with and collecting art? I begin to answer these questions by analysing the extent to which Siegelauub's seminal publication, the *Xerox Book* (1968), acted as an alternative exhibition space for the display of Conceptual art. I then consider Siegelauub's major catalogue-exhibition publications *January 5–31, 1969* (1969), *March 1–31, 1969* (1969), and *July, August, September, 1969* (1969). These publications will be analysed in terms of their varying relationships with the gallery space and their efficacy as a means of distributing information at a time when artists and curators were exploring alternative forms of distributing art in print. I, therefore consider these publications within the wider context of these alternative forms of art publishing, including box-magazines such as *Aspen* and *S.M.S.* (1968) as well as underground newspapers and magazines that were similarly concerned with supplanting art institutions and distributing art to the public directly via the publication.

I: *Xerox Book* on Infinite Loop: remaking, restaging and ripping off the *Xerox Book* in the digital age

Seth Siegelaub published the first edition of the *Xerox Book* on 13 December 1968 (fig.1).² The book comprised seven Xerox-based artworks by the Conceptual artists Carl Andre, Robert Barry, Douglas Huebler, Joseph Kosuth, Sol LeWitt, Robert Morris, and Lawrence Weiner. The origins of the *Xerox Book* lay in Siegelaub's dissatisfaction with the conditions of exhibiting and distributing art within the gallery system in the late 1960s. The confines of the traditional gallery and the art market seemed ill suited to dealing with the dematerialised art produced by Conceptual artists.³ By publishing the work of these artists in the form of a catalogue, Siegelaub created an alternative site of display that could be distributed inexpensively and easily, in effect bypassing the gallery system altogether. Such was the power of his publishing gesture that, even in the last decade, a number of artists, collectives and institutions, have returned to Siegelaub's publishing practices and produced publications and exhibitions that take the *Xerox Book* as a particular source of inspiration and conceptual setting off point. The continued prominence of the *Xerox Book* within contemporary art publishing is indicative of its legacy as a landmark Conceptual art publication and also serves to reveal much about the importance of the material conditions of the book as object in the era of digital art. I consider examples of these new approaches to the *Xerox Book* alongside the original work in order to analyse the extent to which Siegelaub's publication represented a democratisation of art through the process of creating an alternative space for its display and distribution.

Siegelaub published the *Xerox Book* with the financial backing of Jack Wendler, who is credited as co-publisher and was a wealthy art collector in his own right. The pair had collaborated on a previous project in 1967, when they set up the

² The official title of the book is *Carl Andre, Robert Barry, Douglas Huebler, Joseph Kosuth, Sol LeWitt, Robert Morris, Lawrence Weiner*, however, from the time of its publishing, the name *Xerox Book* was used by all concerned with the project, including Siegelaub and so that is the title that is used here.

³ In her book, *Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972*, Lucy Lippard explained her use of the term dematerialised art by acknowledging that the media in which Conceptual artists realised their ideas, 'a piece of paper or a photograph', still retained material qualities and presence but that she continues to use the term with the caveat that it should be understood by the more accurate and comprehensive definition of 'a deemphasis on material aspects (uniqueness, permanence, decorative attractiveness).' Thus, Conceptual art may retain materiality but unlike an oil painting or a bronze sculpture the (often utilitarian) forms used in the production of Conceptual art actively eschew claims of value as a result of this materiality. (Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972*, Berkeley, 2007) p.5

public relations agency 'Image. Art Programs for Industry, Inc.'. Alexander Alberro has detailed the connections between Siegelau's practice as a freelance art dealer and the conventions of advertising, suggesting that in the time after closing his gallery and operating out of his Madison Avenue apartment, Siegelau's function 'was now closer to that of an advertising executive.'⁴ According to Wendler, the purpose of 'Image' was to give publicity to corporate manufacturers in exchange for them allowing artists to work and produce artworks on their industrial premises.⁵ Thus the foundation of their working relationship was based on dealing with corporate clients on behalf of artists and so in attempting to circumvent the traditional role of the gallerist, Siegelau and Wendler were, essentially, mimicking it, if on a more casual basis. The business never took off and, as Wendler remarked, the artists that Siegelau was representing would soon go on to focus exclusively on dematerialised art anyway.⁶ Wendler's reflection on his input as a co-publisher of the *Xerox Book* is that Siegelau was the creative driving force behind the publication and that Wendler was simply the financial backer and no more: 'I was paying the bills and Seth had the ideas.'⁷ In this respect, the circumstances of the publishing of the *Xerox Book* echo those of *Une semaine de bonté* (1934), wherein the gallerist publisher maintains editorial control of the project despite the presence of a financial backer.

The idea to publish a book using Xerox technology came to Siegelau when he became aware of a shop on Madison Avenue that had a combined Xerox and binding machine so that documents could be copied and bound simultaneously.⁸ The machine was used primarily by businesses to give employees and delegates at conferences and board meetings bound copies of reproduced documents.⁹ While this functional means of reproduction appealed to Siegelau, he later discovered that printing a catalogue using Xerox in the numbers required for the *Xerox Book* would cost around \$15,000 and so a compromise involving the cheaper option of offset printing was decided on.¹⁰ Siegelau decided that the artworks themselves

⁴ Alexander Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity*, (Cambridge, Mass. And London, 2003)p. 16

⁵ Jack Wendler, in *Seth Siegelau: Beyond Conceptual Art*, (Cologne, 2016) p.84

⁶ Ibid. p.84

⁷ Jack Wendler in a recorded interview with the Kadist Foundation, 2013.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=85wsUOaqCN8> (accessed January 2017)

⁸ Jack Wendler, speaking at a symposium at Paula Cooper Gallery, 2015. Unpublished recording provided by Paula Cooper Gallery, May 2017.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

would be created using the Xerox machine before being reproduced in the form of the book by being offset printed and then bound. The title of his project, *Xerox Book* is a reference, therefore, to the means of producing the original artworks and not the manner of the book's reproduction and distribution. Siegelau stipulated that the pieces commissioned for the book should never be displayed anywhere outside of its pages and so the book was the sole means of experiencing the work. The catalogue was the site of exhibition.

The first artwork in the catalogue-exhibition is by Carl Andre. Like the other works in the book, Andre's constitutes one work over twenty-five pages rather than twenty-five separate works. Andre's contribution comprises a series of black squares. The first page features one square, the second page has two squares and so on until the final page features twenty-five squares (figs.2-5). Andre left the creation of the work to Siegelau and Wendler, who placed the squares on the Xerox machine and photocopied them before repeating the procedure, adding an additional square each time. When asked why the publishers chose the top left corner as the position for the first square in the series, Wendler suggests that their motivation was to mimic the flow of writing, which begins on the top left and proceeds rightwards.¹¹ The viewer is thus offered a familiar element of the book format and is invited to 'read' the work in the manner that they would text on a page. The addition of another square on each page also lends itself to the idea of a developing narrative where one page follows on naturally from the next.

Barry's work follows Andre's in the book, comprising one million dots that are spread across his allotted twenty-five pages. His is the only work to have a title of sorts as the text 'One Million Dots' appears at the bottom of the last page in his sequence (figs. 6-7). Each page contains around 40,000 dots and so, only taken together over the span of the twenty-five pages do they form the total number of the work's title. This work references the space of the page as, in the words of Wendler, 'A million of anything has got to have room. If it's on a page, there's still room. There's twenty-five pages.'¹² Twenty-four of the pages are identical with only the last page incorporating the text of the title. While Barry and Andre's works could have easily been exhibited within the gallery space the sequential nature in each would not be as immediately apparent as within the pages of the catalogue-exhibition. The notions of sequence and accumulation are inherent in the act of

¹¹ Wendler, Kadist Foundation, 2013

¹² Ibid.

turning each page, reaching completion only when the viewer comes to the final, and title, page. Dematerialised art such as Barry's did not rely on the gallery as a site of display and could, in fact, be better served by being displayed in the form of the publication.

Like Barry, Huebler's work is similarly concerned with experimenting with the space of the page. Huebler's contribution to the catalogue-exhibition is a series of statements, printed in three languages, English, German and French, as well as various combinations of dots and lines. The first page in the sequence bears the phrase 'An 8 ½" x 11" Sheet of Paper' in each of the three languages (fig. 8). The self-referential nature of the work is obvious as the viewer finds a phrase describing the page in front of them. The following page in the sequence has a similar phrase, 'A point located in the exact center of an 8 ½" by 11" Xerox paper' (fig. 9). This page also has a black dot in the centre of the page. Again, the work clearly describes to the viewer the page that they are looking at. From the third page in the sequence onward, Huebler begins to challenge the viewer's conception of the space of the page and the limits of representation by featuring the phrase 'A and B represent points located 1,000,000,000 miles behind the picture plane' (fig.10). The call for the viewer to use their imagination furthers the notion of Conceptual art as an art of ideas, where the aesthetics of the instructions are secondary to the ideas that they can communicate. The instructions become increasingly complex until the final page in the sequence featuring a number of deliberately spaced points and letters includes the statement 'ABCD represent the end points of twenty 1" lines located at a 90° angle and horizontal to the picture plane' (fig. 11). Huebler's work resembles an instruction manual or mathematical textbook, a reference to two other forms of publishing outside of the catalogue that would not have been as immediate had his work appeared on the walls of a gallery space.

Kosuth originally wanted his work to consist of twenty-five pages of photographs of the *Xerox Book* being printed. Wendler told him that this would not be possible and so he instead provided short statements that document the various stages in the book's production.¹³ The twenty-five separate statements echo the previous artists' focus on sequence, seriality and the space of the page. Taken alone, each statement represents one stage in the process of printing and binding the *Xerox Book*, and only when read together and in order is there a suggested

¹³ Wendler, Paula Cooper Gallery 2015

narrative of the book's creation. Statements in the centre of each page such as 'Title of Project', 'Photograph of Xerox machine used' and 'Xerox machine's specifications', Kosuth invites the viewer to conjure photographs that do not exist (figs. 12-14). In doing so, he also invites the viewer to reflect on the conventions of display within the gallery and exhibition catalogue, where the photographs would have been featured in place of the descriptive statements. Kosuth ends with the statement 'Photograph of whole book' (fig. 15). His reference to the completed book presents a viewpoint that was not available to the artists at the time he submitted his work but is available to the viewer. Practicalities prevented Kosuth from his original intention of including actual photographs but by replacing them with his descriptive phrases he can convey the same principles.

LeWitt's contribution to the *Xerox Book* is markedly different to that of his fellow artists. Whereas the other artists created works specifically to be displayed within the *Xerox Book*, LeWitt's works exist elsewhere, in a private collection. Wendler is unaware of how these works 'leaked out' but it is the only submission to the project that goes against Siegelau's instruction that the works displayed within the *Xerox Book* should exist only within the pages of the catalogue-exhibition.¹⁴ LeWitt's work is notably different to his fellow artists' works in several key ways. The first and most obvious difference is that he includes page numbers in a nod to the conventions of the publication that the other artists have eschewed. LeWitt also submits twenty-four original works in the form of drawings of squares with patterns of vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines, as opposed to one twenty-five-page work (figs. 16-17). His twenty-fifth page is given over to a key to the twenty-four previous works, with each work numbered and with the page signed by the artist (fig. 18). These individual works are not standalone pieces, nor do they refer to an idea as artwork. Instead, LeWitt's drawings are prototypes for wall drawings, where the final drawing itself is the work. While LeWitt's series of wall drawings, with their repeated patterns of simple black lines in various formations, are consistent with Conceptual art's dematerialization of the art object, they are not as purely conceptual as his fellow artists' works.

Unlike LeWitt, Morris's work presents the reader with perhaps the clearest representation of an engagement with Xerox reproduction in that it is literally the same image reproduced twenty-five times. His work consists of twenty-five copies of the same photograph of Earth taken from space (fig. 19). Wendler, however, does

¹⁴ Wendler, Kadist Foundation 2013

not know why this work was included, suggesting that the reason for Morris's inclusion was to do with his association with the gallerist Leo Castelli.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the inclusion of the work offers a counterpoint to the previous artists' use of sequence in their works as, across the span of the twenty-five pages, Morris's piece remains constant. This is perhaps a remark by the artist on the constancy and predictability of existence on Earth or of the Xerox process. The image appears to represent cloud cover and so the recognisable features of continents and oceans are obscured. It is also immediately apparent that the image is a photocopy rather than a standard photograph. The grainy and overexposed image may suggest the limitations of mass reproduction in general and Xerox in particular, alluding to the book's title and the work's creation.

Weiner is the final artist included in the catalogue-exhibition and his work is most indicative of the possibilities available to artists engaging with idea-based art in that it represents both twenty-five iterations of the same idea and twenty-five separate ideas simultaneously. Weiner's work is twenty-five reproductions of a page of graph paper, with the statement 'A rectangular removal from a Xeroxed graph sheet in proportion to the overall dimensions of the sheet' spaced out in squares across the bottom right corner of the page (fig. 20). Each of the pages may suggest to the reader that a different rectangular removal be taken from the graph paper or that the same removal be taken twenty-five times. The words of the printed statement form an almost-rectangular shape, denoting that the statement itself could represent the removal in question. As in his earlier works dealing with removing specified areas of plaster from a wall, the importance is not on the literal removal or on whether the artist carries out the removal or not. It is not important whether the removal even takes place at all. Instead, the work lies in the concept of removal and the deliberate creation of a space or a void.

Siegelaub and Wendler were the copyright holders of the book, which was printed in an edition of 1,000 and priced at \$25. Each artist was contracted to receive royalties of \$0.50 for every copy of the book sold, up to a maximum of \$400. The means by which Siegelaub published and distributed the book and offered each artist a percentage of the sales returns is not in itself a radical departure from the traditional gallerist-publishing system as, again taking the example of an earlier chapter, Bucher distributed profits for *Une semaine de bonté* between herself, Ernst and Penrose in much the same way. Barry outlined the specific challenge

¹⁵ Wendler, Kadist Foundation 2013

presented, to the gallerist and the collector, by an art practice that rejects the ideas of commodity and the inherent value of the art object:

That will really be a test of the collector, I think. Collectors, if they really like art, just won't be ... [won't] have their little objects to prove that they're art lovers. But I guess that if they're really willing to spend money on art, they should just spend it on the artists themselves and help them continue to live.¹⁶

Given Conceptual art's resistance to the commodification of the art market, as articulated by Barry, what should one make of the fact that the *Xerox Book*, as an object, circulated in conditions largely similar to that of previous gallery publications? The idea of the catalogue-exhibition as commodity and object of exchange outside of the traditional art market is one that is taken up by a recent re-working of the *Xerox Book*.

The *Xerox Book* (2010) (figs. 21-22) was published by Rollo Press, a publishing project founded by the artist Urs Lehni in Zurich in 2007 'more or less accidentally after purchasing a risograph from Ebay.'¹⁷ The Rollo Press *Xerox Book* is a self-proclaimed bootleg, an unauthorised facsimile, of Siegelau's publication, published in an edition of only one hundred¹⁸. The book was published as part of the exhibition *Book Show* at Eastside Projects, Birmingham in July 2010. The idea behind the project was to ask visitors to the Eastside Projects exhibition to bring a book of their own that they would then exchange for the copy of the *Xerox Book*. At the end of the exhibition, the new collection of books would then be incorporated into the Eastside Projects library. The only way to receive a copy of their bootleg was through this process of bartered exchange. The parameters set for the swap are that visitors to the exhibition must offer to exchange a book published in the same year as the original *Xerox Book*, 1968, or that features one of the seven original artists. The nature of the Rollo Press project is very much in keeping with Siegelau's focus on communication and the dissemination of art as information.

The books collected by Eastside Projects at the end of the exhibition run would form a library that was representative of an organic knowledge-sharing process as well as being an indicator of how many copies of the 2010 *Xerox Book*

¹⁶ Alexander Alberro and Patricia Norvell (eds.), *Recording Conceptual Art: Early Interviews With Barry, Huebler, Kaltenbach, LeWitt, Morris, Oppenheim, Siegelau, Smithson, Weiner* by Patricia Norvell, (Berkeley, 2001), p.94

¹⁷ Urs Lehni, www.rollo-press.com (accessed March 2017)

¹⁸ Ten installments of the book are planned, of 100 copies each.

had been circulated beyond the gallery. The idea of an exchange of like for like information, eschewing a standard sales process is suggestive of Conceptual art's apparent distaste for the art market and goes further in this regard than Siegelau's more traditional format of selling his *Xerox Book*. This exchange, however, was not without parameters of its own, including an assumption of value based on the publication date of a book to be exchanged, in this case the year 1968. The exchange is therefore still mediated by principles of value based on a book's historicity or collectability rather than the nature of the information contained within. The bootlegged *Xerox Book* is also exchanged to benefit Eastside Projects but with no material benefit to the original artists. This is the opposite of Barry's notion that collectors of dematerialised art should eschew object status in favour of contributing directly to the continued work of the artist. As a gallerist turned publisher, Siegelau's concern with democratising art through publishing is not only to widen public access to Conceptual art but also to act as representative for the artists he published. For artists producing idea-based art, the book as transactional object offered a level of stability in terms of their income while still affording them the opportunity to produce dematerialised art objects. In the *Xerox Book*, Siegelau produced an object for collectors and, from the proceeds, ensured funding for his artists to continue to work. The nature of this distribution of royalties to his artists from sales of the *Xerox Book* was non-hierarchical. Each artist received the same level of royalties regardless of the value of work they produced elsewhere.

The process that Siegelau began when arranging the publication of the *Xerox Book* was akin to a curator or gallerist organising a group show. He contacted the seven artists with his request that they submit work to be displayed as part of a group and provided them with a brief relating to the conditions of the work's display. Just as a gallerist may provide an artist with details of room dimensions, lighting and other practical considerations when commissioning a site-specific work for a gallery, Siegelau provided the artists with details of where and how their work would be shown. Siegelau gave each artist the dimensions of 8.5 x 11 inches, a standard size of a sheet of paper and told them that they were each allocated twenty-five pages. He also requested that their work should engage with the form of Xerox reproduction. The artists' work was created using the Xerox machine and then collated, or rather curated, and offset printed. The fact that the book nevertheless retains the title *Xerox Book* is only a 'half cheat', in Wendler's words, as it was more than just a marked allusion to what was, at the time, a new

technology.¹⁹ The title *Xerox Book* is also an overt statement on the book's supposed easy reproducibility and the importance of communication and distribution. By referencing the means of creating the individual artworks within the book rather than the printed book itself, the title reminds the viewer that the book object is not an artwork but rather that it is a means of containing and distributing information and ideas, which are the real basis of these dematerialised works. The prioritising of the book's content over its materiality is signposted to the viewer by its deliberately pared-down appearance, which is striking in its stark simplicity and emphasises functionality over form.

A list of the seven artists' names appears on the spine of the book and on the title page, ordered alphabetically and thus dispelling any notion of hierarchy based on an artist's fame or commercial success. The artists' names also appear on an otherwise blank page that immediately precedes their respective twenty-five-page artworks. These quasi-title pages, combined with the varied nature of the seven works contained within the book, interrupt the viewer's experience of the book as a singular, cohesive object. The seven pages perform a function similar to chapter titles or partitions and form breaks in the flow of reading the book. What is the effect of these efforts at separation within the catalogue? I argue that this serves as a visual reminder to the viewer that the book is not the work of one artist, engaging with the form of the book to produce an individual artwork, as in an artists' book. Rather, the *Xerox Book* exists as an accumulation of seven separate works, curated by Siegelau to be displayed and distributed as an exhibition in book form.

What, then is the significance of the distinction between the book as one work or as the container for seven separate works? As artists' book or catalogue-exhibition? The answer lies in comments Siegelau made to Michalis Pichler in an interview in 2013, explaining that he had no interest in producing artists' books, which he acknowledged was a very long tradition, and that the catalogue-exhibition was not an example of an artists' book but 'was entirely a new concept of book.'²⁰ When pressed by Pichler on this point, Siegelau reiterates 'it was never an intention to create pretty books, it was to communicate information.'²¹

As Siegelau states, the catalogue-exhibitions were designed as a means of disseminating information, specifically the 'primary information' of dematerialised

¹⁹ Wendler, Paula Cooper Gallery, 2015

²⁰ Michalis Pichler, *Books and Ideas After Seth Siegelau*, (New York, 2016) p.116

²¹ Ibid. p.116

art, rather than the supplemental 'secondary information' more associated with the traditional format of the exhibition catalogue. The book was, Siegelauub suggests, merely the most effective way of doing this. Siegelauub was keen, therefore, that the *Xerox Book* not be seen as an artists' book or within a tradition of the *livre d'artiste*, because what he is creating is principally a source of displaying and disseminating information. Siegelauub defined the terms 'primary' and 'secondary' information in conversation with Charles Harrison when noting the opportunities available in publishing dematerialised art, as opposed to reproducing object-based art such as painting and sculpture:

For painting and sculpture, where the visual presence – color, scale, size, location – is important to the work, the photograph of verbalization of that work is a bastardization of the art. But when art concerns itself with things not germane to physical presence, its intrinsic (communicative) value is not altered by its presentation in printed media. The use of catalogues and books to communicate (and disseminate) art is the most neutral means to present the new art. The catalogue can now act as primary information for the exhibition, as opposed to secondary information *about* art in magazines, catalogues etc. and in some cases the 'exhibition' can be the 'catalogue'.²²

For Siegelauub, the important point about the catalogue as an alternative to encountering objects within a gallery, and therefore acting as the primary means of displaying and distributing dematerialized art, is that it should be as neutral as possible. The appearance of the catalogue and the method by which the ideas within are communicated is of secondary importance to the effective communication of the works themselves.

None of the works in the book are captioned, titled or dated in any way, aside from Barry's 'One Million Dots'. In its outward appearance the *Xerox Book* is a tabula rasa, its form gesturing towards its functional role as an efficient means by which to display and disseminate dematerialised art. The decision that each artist's work should be created using Xerox was also an aesthetic choice on Siegelauub's part that was designed to focus attention on the work:

²² Alberro and Norvell 2001, p.15

My thought about Xeroxing [...] was that I chose Xerox as opposed to offset or any other process because its such a bland, shitty reproduction, really just for the exchange of information. That's all a Xerox is about. I mean, it's not even, you know, defined. So Xerox just cuts down on the visual aspect of looking at the information.²³

The fact that the book itself was offset printed reinforces the difference in importance between creating the works within the book and reproducing the book. The works of art are the information while the book is merely a container for the information. Siegelau's use of Xerox in the creation of the individual works was intended to remove any visual interference with that information, however, the use of Xerox and offset are aesthetic choices that are not neutral. I argue that in the book title and its austere outward appearance, Siegelau seeks to visually signpost the efficacy of new technology for the display and distribution of a new kind of artwork. The work stands as Siegelau's argument that the traditional gallery system is outmoded as a means of exhibiting Conceptual art.

The implications of the use of Xerox as the basis for the works in the *Xerox Book* can be further analysed through comparison with the artist Eric Doeringer's *The Xeroxed Book* (2010) (fig. 23-25). The book was published by the artist's publishing company, Copycat Publications, in an edition of 250 copies, currently on sale for \$80 on his website.²⁴ The book is a photocopied edition of the original *Xerox Book* with the addition of a new title and the artist's name. The title *The Xeroxed Book* points towards the fact that Doeringer's book, unlike Siegelau's was reproduced using Xerox machine. Doeringer suggests that as his book actually uses Xerox technology, rather than being offset printed, it is 'perhaps closer to Siegelau's intent than the original book.'²⁵ I contacted Doeringer and asked him of the significance of the Xerox process in the creation of his own book. He replied:

My interest was definitely in the book as an object, and the ways in which a photocopied book is different from the original. I wanted the distortions endemic to photocopying: dust, gutter shadows, page edges, etc.²⁶

Doeringer's book is a 'second-generation copy' and so the idiosyncrasies of the Xeroxing process, the dust, gutter shadows etc., inflect the viewer's experience of

²³ Ibid. p.39

²⁴ <http://www.ericdoeringer.com/Order.html#XeroxedBook> (accessed April 2017)

²⁵ Eric Doeringer, in Pichler 2016, p.39

²⁶ Email correspondence with Eric Doeringer, August 2018

the artworks within by offering visual cues that this book is a copy of a copy. The means of production and the processes of Xeroxing therefore adopt a greater importance in *The Xeroxed Book* than in the original. This only serves to highlight, however, that the original, in exhibiting fewer of these hallmarks of Xerography, still offered some visual cues to its manner of creation and reproduction.

Despite his clear promotion of the new Xerox technology and its democratising implications for Conceptual art in 1968, Siegelau proved reluctant to embrace advances in digital technology as a means of disseminating art. In an interview with David Maroto in December 2012, Siegelau was asked about new media and the possibility of the book becoming outdated as a format. On the subject of books being turned into downloadable PDFs and shared online, Siegelau responded:

It's not the same thing. We've put most of the books that I've produced into a free downloadable PDF, but it's not the same thing. That's that. It's a convenient thing being able to carry it [a digital book] around. On a hard disk: you can read it on the beach or something like this, but it's not the same object as a book. That's all. Once you understand that, it shows how important and how much the book is still with us as a form of communication or a creative form.²⁷

The PDFs that Siegelau mentions are a reference to The Seth Siegelau Online Archive, where works published by Siegelau are free to download from the website Primary Information.²⁸ There is an obvious discrepancy between Siegelau's remarks on the limits of digital technology to disseminate Conceptual art anywhere in the world for free and his earlier promotion of advances in printing technology precisely because of their ability to make art more widely available. Siegelau suggests a hierarchy of publishing dematerialised art in which the original book outranks the digital reproduction, including in the case of his own book PDFs. What is it about that the art Siegelau championed in the 1960s that did not require the material conditions of the gallery but does rely on the materiality of the book in order to be appreciated and understood? I argue that the aspects of the materiality of the *Xerox Book* that effect the viewer's experience of the works displayed within are those of seriality and performativity.

²⁷ Seth Siegelau in conversation with David Maroto, 'What Happens When the Artwork Becomes a Novel', in *Artists' Novels* (Berlin and Cracow, 2014) p.135

²⁸ <http://www.primaryinformation.org/pdfs/>

Following Siegelau's death in June 2013, the artist and critic Greg Allen posted a series of gifs to his blog, creating a work titled *Infinite Loop* (2013).²⁹ The animated gifs were made using the pages of the *Xerox Book*, or rather pages from PDFs of the *Xerox Book* from the Primary Information website. In Allen's work, the *Xerox Book* can be viewed in its entirety in a matter of seconds as each page of the book flashes by on an infinite loop. As a democratising method of displaying and disseminating art, the *Xerox Book* gifs go far beyond the reach of the original work. I opened my email correspondence with Allen by first asking whether his *Xerox Book* gifs were based on the principles of remaking a book or restaging an exhibition. Allen responded:

For my part, it was several years before [2013] when I began to consider my blogging as a practice, not an ancillary or (merely) documentary adjacency to some other creative production, so by the time of the [Xerox Book] gifs, it was very easy to consider them as works, and the post as an exhibition, in the same or similar unresolved way that Siegelau had created a book-as-exhibition.³⁰

The most obvious difference between the gifs and the original *Xerox Book* when viewing Allen's work is that the gifs flash before the viewer's eyes in a pre-programmed loop. The time allotted to each artist's work is not exactly uniform but each gif completes its loop in an average of seven seconds. In the original *Xerox Book* the viewer has agency over the time they choose to take when viewing each work. This agency is denied in Allen's work and so, while the serial nature of the work is reproduced, it is inhibited as the artist retains control over the time in which each work is viewed.

In Allen's online exhibition, and in the PDFs from which he took his images, the works are seen through the act of the viewer scrolling down their computer screen. Allen separates the works, displaying each of the seven pieces one above the other, similar to the way in which the PDFs are displayed. In an interview with Christophe Cherix and Lionel Bovier, the historian of artists' books Clive Phillpot suggests that one of the reasons why the 'electronic' artists' book is a different experience than the printed book is the substitution of scrolling for page turning: 'Although they might, for example, mimic page-turning, this would not be intrinsic

²⁹ <https://greg.org/archive/2013/06/15/the-xerox-book-infinite-loop.html>

³⁰ Email correspondence with Greg Allen, August 2018

to the new medium.’³¹ What is the significance of turning the page to appreciating the works within the book? If the works are, as Siegelauub suggests, purely pieces of information then what effect does the differences in reproduction technique have on the communication of that information? In his essay of aphorisms, *The New Art of Making Books*, the artist Ulises Carrión wrote: ‘A book is a sequence of spaces. Each of these spaces is perceived at a different moment – a book is also a sequence of moments.’³² Carrión argues not only for the idea of the book as a series of spaces but also that the book has a performative function. In the *Xerox Book*, the viewer reveals each twenty-five page work in a repetitive act of turning the page. Allen writes that he always thought of the *Xerox Book* as an object that ‘felt like a flipbook’.³³ Again, this implies a level of performative agency when literally handling the works in that they can be viewed in a number of different ways: sequentially; from back to front; randomly opened at a page; some works skipped altogether. This freedom suggests innumerable ways in which to take in the information within the book. The digital reproduction inhibits this flipbook function and highlights the material differences between holding the book as a collection of artworks and observing them on a screen.

Despite Siegelauub’s stated intention that the *Xerox Book* was the most neutral means of conveying art as information, it is apparent through comparisons with recent approaches to the work that this notion of neutrality is a false one. The ways in which Rollo Press, Doeringer and Allen have used the *Xerox Book* as conceptual setting off point for their own works bring Siegelauub’s *Xerox Book* into clearer focus as a book object. The *Xerox Book* was created, in part, to support artists who were producing dematerialised art that proved difficult to market to collectors without some form of object as referent. This is an inherent part of its function and so despite Conceptual art’s resistance to the commodification of the art market, it was never intended to circulate freely, without any value. Using the *Xerox Book* to create an alternative to the gallery space was the means and not the end in Siegelauub publishing the work of the Conceptual artists he represented. The use of Xerox was also, contrary to Siegelauub’s stated intention, not a neutral means

³¹ Clive Phillpot, in conversation with Christophe Cherix and Lionel Bovier, *Booktrek: Selected Essays on Artists’ Books (1972 – 2010)*, (Zurich and Dijon, 2013) p.5

³² Ulises Carrión, ‘The New Art of Making Books’ in Joan Lyons (ed.) *Artists’ Books: A Critical Anthology and Sourcebook*, (New York, 1985) p.31. Johanna Drucker, also considers this notion of the page as a conceptual space, and that the form of the book can be read as a sequence of spaces, to be encountered in their own time. See, Johanna Drucker, *The Century of Artists’ Books*, (New York: Granary Books Inc., 1994) p.320

³³ Allen, email correspondence

of communicating ideas. The obvious overt use of new technological means of reproduction in the book, reinforced Conceptual artists' criticism of art institutions as outmoded in their approach to dematerialised art. While technological advances now render the downloadable PDF a far more effective means of distributing the works of art in the *Xerox Book*, it was resisted by Siegelau due to its inability to reproduce the materiality of the book. The works were commissioned and created with the form of the book in mind and so the conditions of the book delineate the viewer's experience of it as an exhibition. Seriality is inherent in the catalogue-exhibition by the way in which each artwork follows on from the last and is itself comprised of twenty-five pages following on one from the other. The performative nature of the book requires the viewer to turn the page, engaging in an act of revealing and accumulating the information of each page. It is these notions of seriality and performativity that are denied, controlled or inhibited in digital approaches to the book.

II: Distributing Information, Democratising Art: the catalogue-exhibition and the artists' magazine as alternative exhibition space

The nature of the dematerialised art in Siegelau's publications invited new methods of engagement and distribution to the public. The books that Siegelau published in the last years of the 1960s were produced at a time when artists' magazines, alternative forms of art distribution and underground presses were flourishing. Siegelau's publications were closer, in their form and function, to contemporary artists' magazines such as *Aspen* and *S.M.S.* than they were to the exhibition catalogues produced by contemporary galleries. There were, however, examples of exhibition catalogues that displayed a similar focus on the publication as alternative means of displaying and distributing art, such as those produced by the curators Harald Szeeman and Johannes Cladders. Where does Siegelau's publishing output sit within this wider context of alternative publishing and distribution of art in the 1960s? And what can be discerned about Siegelau's practice as a gallerist turned publisher from these alternative forms of distributed art?

There was a drive by individuals operating within certain European arts institutions in the late 1960s to revolutionise the nature of exhibition-making and the conceptual nature of the gallery space. Harald Szeeman, director and curator at Kunsthalle Bern in Switzerland from 1961 to 1969, was responsible for the influential group exhibition of Conceptual artists *Live in Your Head: When Attitudes Become Form*. The exhibition, curated by Szeeman in 1969, is indicative of the way in which Conceptual art led curators to challenge the conventions of display. It is also indicative of how quickly individuals like Szeeman responded to Conceptual art practice as well as how quickly artists were welcomed into art institutions, such as the public museum, that they had heretofore resisted or railed against. Siegelau was certainly aware of and influenced by major exhibitions like Szeeman's. Describing the free-flow of ideas between curators and dealers in Europe and North America, Siegelau said:

You just have to look at any of the exhibitions, whether it was Wim Beeren here with *Op Losse Schroeven*, or Harry Szeeman in Switzerland or any of my larger exhibitions. We all shared a space, we all knew each other, we were all interacting, friends on various levels and degrees. It was difficult to separate the strands of these types of activities.³⁴

Institutional interest in engaging with Conceptual art extended beyond the Kunsthalle exhibition into the realm of corporate finance. The financial backing for the exhibition came to Szeeman from the tobacco giant Phillip Morris, and so the dichotomy between the anti-market ideals of Conceptual art and the realities of corporatism and commodification are already present. Szeeman's catalogue for *When Attitudes Become Form* adopted the format of a folder containing files relating to each artist and the work that they had submitted to the exhibition (fig. 26). The artists are arranged alphabetically, eschewing a hierarchy in a manner that Siegelaub also demonstrated in his publications. It is apparent that Szeeman was aware of the potential of the publication to play a pivotal role in finding alternatives to traditional exhibition spaces. In an interview with the curator Hans-Ulrich Obrist, when he was asked what he believed were the turning points in exhibition history, Szeeman cited Duchamp's 'smallest exhibition', the *Boîte-en-Valise* as one such moment.³⁵

A contemporary of Szeeman's, Johannes Cladders, also mounted exhibitions that challenged the conventions of art's display. Cladders was director of the Städtisches Museum Abteiberg Mönchengladbach from 1967 to 1985 and was one of the earliest curators to exhibit the works of Joseph Beuys. Cladders commissioned Beuys to come up with an innovative form of publication to accompany his exhibition at the museum. Beuys responded to the brief with his catalogue box, the format of which would be the basis for all future exhibition catalogues at the museum while under Cladders's stewardship (fig. 27-28). The efficacy of Cladders's catalogue-boxes as an exhibition publication is that, like Duchamp's *Boîte-en-Valise*, they were small enough to be portable and easily distributed. The box-publication format evoked the idea of the gallery as literal storehouse of contemporary art, but without the prohibitive costs or bureaucracy of the arts institution and so met the requirements of the drive towards alternative

³⁴ Seth Siegelaub, in conversation with Sophie Richard in Sophie Richard, *Unconcealed: The International Network of Conceptual Artists 1967–77: Dealers, Exhibitions and Public Collections*, (London, 2009) p.468

³⁵ Harald Szeeman, in Hans Ulrich Obrist, *A Brief History of Curating*, (Zurich and Dijon, 2008) p.98

spaces in the 1960s that valued an inexpensive and efficient means of displaying and distributing new kinds of art.

The first of Siegelau's catalogue-exhibitions published in 1969 was *January 5 – 31, 1969*, featuring the work of the artists Barry, Huebler, Kosuth and Weiner (fig. 29). Unlike in the case of the *Xerox Book*, the 'January Show' took place in two rooms in a Manhattan office block, rented for the duration of the exhibition for \$350. One of the rooms acted as an exhibition space of sorts, displaying two works by each of the four artists. In the other room was a desk staffed by a receptionist, a role played by the artist Adrian Piper, and a display of catalogues (fig. 30). To unwitting observers, there was nothing particularly odd about this small group show of Conceptual art. The reality is that the eight works on display in the office space were a prelude of sorts to the full exhibition of thirty-two works that was contained in the pages of the catalogue. Siegelau explains:

When information is primary, the catalogue can become the exhibition. In the usual exhibition situation, you have a physical exhibition and a catalogue auxiliary to it; whereas in the *January show*, the catalogue was primary and the physical exhibition was auxiliary to it. You know, it's turning the whole thing around.³⁶

Siegelau flips the traditional function of the gallery space and the exhibition catalogue supplanting one and giving primacy to the other. The works in the catalogue are numbered 1 – 32 and untitled except for the short descriptive statement responsible for communicating the work to the reader. The catalogue also mimics the standard catalogue practice of noting the collection to which works belong. Thus works by Weiner such as '27. Two minutes of spray paint directly upon the floor from a standard aerosol spray can, 1968' are accompanied by the listing 'Collection: Mr Sol Lewitt, N.Y.'³⁷ Other works in the catalogue by Weiner are listed as being in the collection of Siegelau, Raymond L. Dirks and Mr and Mrs Dennis Holt. By listing the various collections to which these immaterial works are part, Siegelau appears to present an overt pastiche of art collecting habits but his actual approach to selling and collecting dematerialized art is more complicated. In conversation with Sophie Richard, Siegelau suggests that none of the artists he

³⁶ Seth Siegelau, in Ursula Meyer, 'When You Become Aware of Something, It Immediately Becomes Part of You', *Seth Siegelau: Beyond Conceptual Art* 2016, p.190

³⁷ *January 5–31, 1969*, (New York, 1969) unnumbered

works with, despite their claims to contest the nature of the gallery system and art market, would set out to create work that they could not sell.³⁸

In the second of the catalogue-exhibitions of that year, *March 1-31, 1969*, Siegelau commissioned thirty-one artists to create a piece corresponding with a different day of the month. Each of the artists created a piece on a different day with the finished exhibition taking the form of a page-a-day calendar (fig. 31). Each work could therefore be represented on one page of the publication, with blank pages representing the artists who failed to respond to his request for submissions. The artists who were included in the project were, in order their assigned dates: Andre, Mike Asher, Terry Atkinson, Michael Baldwin, Barry, Rick Barthelme, Iain Baxter, James Lee Byars, John Chamberlain, Ron Cooper, Barry Flanagan, Dan Flavin, Alex Hay, Huebler, Robert Huot, Stephen Kaltenbach, On Kawara, Kosuth, Christine Kozlov, LeWitt, Richard Long, Morris, Bruce Nauman, Claes Oldenburg, Dennis Oppenheim, Alan Ruppertsberg, Ed Ruscha, Robert Smithson, De Wain Valentine, Weiner, and Ian Wilson. The 'March Show', also known as 'One Month', opens with the standard letter that Siegelau sent to each of the thirty-one artists (fig. 32). In this letter, he informs them of their assigned date and asks them to return to him details of the work that they wish to be included on their date and page:

Your reply should specify one of the following:

- 1) You want your name listed, with a description of your "work" and/or relevant information.
- 2) You want your name listed, with no other information.
- 3) You do not want your name listed at all.³⁹

Examples of the works displayed within the catalogue include Barry's *Inert Gas Series, 1969; Helium (2 cubic feet)* (1969) (fig. 33) on the page marked 5 March: 'Description: Sometime during the morning of March 5, 1969, 2 cubic feet of Helium will be released into the atmosphere.'⁴⁰ Weiner's work occupies the page of 30 March: 'An object tossed from one country to another'⁴¹ (fig. 34). There were seven pages left entirely blank. Andre, Asher, Flavin, Kawara, LeWitt, Nauman and Ruscha submitted no work to be included. Wilson's page lists only his name and the city, New York. These pages are, nevertheless, just as much a part of the catalogue as

³⁸ Richard 2009, p.469

³⁹ *March 1-31, 1969*, (New York, 1969) unnumbered

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

those that display submitted works. When asked about recent attempts by artists to revisit and 'fill' the blank pages of 'One Month', SiegelauB was insistent that this would 'misrepresent' the original:

...It would change the nature of the artists' replies in the original. That's all. So they could step out and ask 31 artists whatever they want to do – if they want, they can acknowledge me as an inspiration, or whatever, I have no objection to them stealing the cover or the introduction or format, whatever they want to do – but I thought it would falsify, it would change the nature of the artists', the original artists' replies. Whatever they decided.⁴²

SiegelauB's insistence that the blank pages be left blank as to do otherwise would disrupt the original nature of the catalogue, shows that the key to the exhibition lies in the action of responding, communicating, with SiegelauB's initial request. The letter requesting submissions and each artist's response represent the typical first stage in putting on a traditional gallery exhibition. By exhibiting this process, SiegelauB undermines a gallery system that is interested in results and not processes. He also demonstrates, again, the primary importance of the transmission of information and ideas in his publishing practice, free from the burdens of aesthetics and object status.

In the final catalogue-exhibition of 1969, *July, August, September, 1969*, eleven artists were tasked with creating works in locations in Europe and North America (fig. 35). The artists featured were Andre in The Hague, Barry in Baltimore, Huebler in Los Angeles, Kosuth in Portales, New Mexico, LeWitt in Düsseldorf, Weiner in Niagara Falls, Robert Smithson in Yucatán, Daniel Buren in Paris, Richard Long in Bristol, N.E.Thing Co. Ltd. In Vancouver, and Jan Dibbets in Amsterdam. Owing to the international reach of the catalogue, it was published in three languages, English, French and German and featured an image of the Earth, divided into eastern and western hemispheres on the front and back cover. In this exhibition, the works were in place in the various locations listed for the three-month duration of the exhibition. The 'Summer Show' demonstrates a more conventional relationship between the catalogue and the exhibition space. When interviewed by Ursula Meyer in November 1969, SiegelauB said of *July, August, September, 1969*:

⁴² Pichler 2016, p.122

The catalogue is more like a traditional museum's or exhibition's catalogue, in the sense that it documents the works as a standard guide to the exhibition, the only difference being that instead of walking into, say, the Whitney annual, where the catalogue makes reference to all the displayed work, here you have the whole world and not just a building for housing an exhibition.⁴³

This difference, that the exhibition space was spread across thousands of miles, is significant. This element of the exhibition represented how Conceptual art could be transported and shared far more easily than object-based art that requires expensive and careful shipping. It is not even necessary in displaying Conceptual art for the artist to be present at the time of a work's creation or display as in the example of Weiner's works where the actual fabrication of the work is immaterial. In this catalogue, Siegelau showed that the ideas of artists could be communicated and shared across borders via the catalogue. The reader could choose to seek out an individual work in situ or find all of them within the pages of the catalogue. As the catalogue was the site of the primary information of each work, the need to spend the time and money necessary to travel to each location was rendered unnecessary. Instead all that was required was a visit to one of an international network of galleries, libraries or bookshops to purchase a copy of the catalogue.

In this attempt at a truly international outreach, Siegelau was overtly demonstrating the democratic principles inherent to a dematerialised art form that privileged ideas over expensive objects. He also took advantage of and highlighted the advances in printing and communication technology that allowed art to be dispersed far wider than before at relatively low cost and effort. It was the same advances in technology that allowed for a flourishing in the magazine as a format that could be used by artists to disseminate their work. While the magazine had been a staple feature for modern art movements, used to great effect by earlier twentieth century avant-garde artists, the potential for cheap, mass-produced publications that could be dispersed across continents was perfectly suited to the nature of dematerialized art.

In *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art*, Gwen Allen argues for the artists' magazine as a 'particular kind of oppositional site' that flourished in the 1960s.⁴⁴ The oppositional nature of the magazine came from the ability of

⁴³ Seth Siegelau: *Beyond Conceptual Art* 2016 p.191

⁴⁴ Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art*, (Cambridge, Mass. 2011) p.7

publications such as *Aspen* (1965 – 1971) and *S.M.S.* (1968) to act as a viable alternative to the exhibition space of the gallery and thus pose a threat to the hegemony of the gallery system.⁴⁵ The magazine, therefore, posed the same threat to the gallery as the catalogue-exhibitions of Siegelau. By the 1960s, the reproduction of art in books, catalogues and magazines was commonplace and, due to advances in technology, printing and publishing using offset and Xerox were not only less expensive but ‘widely available to nonspecialized producers, leading to a burgeoning alternative and underground press.’⁴⁶ This underground press of ‘nonspecialized users’ shared in Conceptualism’s desire to contest the spaces and institutions of art and society.

The advances that made publishing cheaper and easier than it had ever been in the 1960s also meant that subcultures and self-formed groups of artists and writers could produce publications that addressed issues specific to them. Clive Phillpot, in an essay on artists’ magazines, notes that Conceptual art had no designated ‘movement magazine’, but rather this art form’s dependence on words ‘led to a new efflorescence of magazines’.⁴⁷ Magazines such as *Art-Language* and the shorter-lived *The Fox* provided a dedicated home for Conceptual art discourse but the larger and well established *Artforum* and *Studio International* also offered space to the discussion of Conceptual art and artists.⁴⁸ While not officially affiliated with the Conceptual art movement, publishers like Phyllis Johnson for *Aspen* magazine and William Copley with *S.M.S.* demonstrated a similar desire to circumvent the gallery space and to instead distribute art in the form of publishing directly to a wide audience.

Phyllis Johnson, former editor of *Women’s Wear Daily* and *Advertising Age*, founded *Aspen* in 1965 as a magazine in a box. She deliberately invoked the origins of the word magazine, as ‘a storehouse, a cache, a ship laden with stores’ in a letter to subscribers in the first edition.⁴⁹ The first edition came in a black, hinged box measuring 9 ½ by 12 ½ by ¾ inches with a large, white letter ‘A’ on the front (fig. 36). It contained nine unnumbered items including a specific folder for

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.7

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.6

⁴⁷ Clive Phillpot, ‘Artists as Magaziners’, *In Numbers: Serial Publications by Artists since 1955*, P. E. Aarons and A. Roth (eds.), (New York, 2009) p.181

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.181

⁴⁹ Phyllis Johnson, ‘A Letter from Phyllis Johnson’, *Aspen*, No.1, (New York, 1965), <http://www.ubu.com/aspen/aspen1/index.html> (accessed January 2017) unnumbered

advertisements. In the first edition, Johnson wrote to prospective subscribers of the potential offered to the publisher and contributors by the box format:

Since it comes in a box, our magazine need not be restricted to a bunch of pages stapled together. We can do what editors have wanted to do since Benjamin gave his name to Franklin Gothic - we can put in all sorts of objects and things to illustrate our articles. And each article can be designed as a separate booklet with the size, format and paper dictated by the article itself.⁵⁰

Despite the supposedly boundless possibilities of form and content, the first two issues of the magazine were relatively pedestrian and akin to the contents of any lifestyle magazine for the wealthy classes who frequented the eponymous mountain town. The first issue features articles on skiing and nature alongside papers from the 15th annual International Design Conference in Aspen. Issue number two again featured articles on skiing and the local landscape as well as papers presented at the Aspen Film Conference. Beginning with the third issue, Johnson began to invite contemporary artists to guest edit and design issues of the magazine. Issue three, the 'Pop Art' issue, published in 1966, was designed and edited by Andy Warhol and David Dalton.

This issue of the magazine appeared to distil the essence of Pop Art into the box, created to resemble a box of Fab laundry detergent (fig. 37). The box contained eleven items including a phonograph recording of music by Peter Walker on side A and John Cale, of the Velvet Underground on side B. Music was an important theme in this issue of the magazine as there were also included numerous articles on rock and roll including one by Lou Reed titled *The View from the Bandstand: Life Among the Poobahs*. There were also twelve cards with reproductions of paintings from the Powers' Collection with comments by the artists and the collector, including works by Warhol, Bridget Riley and Roy Lichtenstein. The magazine achieved what Johnson had set out to do, provide a storehouse, a publication as a container for reproductions and information related to art movements and artists on an ever-changing basis. As the issues continued, the magazine would continue to supply supplementary information and reproduced images but would also add to this with reels of artists' films and drawings to become a means of distributing actual works of art directly to the public.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

The fifth and sixth issues of *Aspen* were released as a single volume and guest edited by Brian O'Doherty in the winter of 1967 (fig. 38). Nine years before he would go on to write his treatise on the 'white cube' gallery space, O'Doherty created his issue of the *Aspen* magazine within a white box. His edition of the magazine was dedicated to Conceptual and Minimalist art and featured twenty-eight numbered items. The issue featured Mel Bochner's grid study *Seven Translucent Tiers*, which was a grid of numbers with seven translucent sheets of paper with plus and minus symbols to create a mathematical game, and LeWitt's *Serial Project #1* which was a description of an installation of the artist's work at the Dwan Gallery. Also included in the box was Tony Smith's *The Maze*, a series of cardboard shapes that could be assembled to make a sculpture, and a reel of super-8 film, *Four Films by Four Artists* featured four film clips of works by Hans Richter, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Robert Rauschenberg, and Robert Morris and Stan VanDerBeek. Texts by artists and writers such as Susan Sontag and George Kubler were included as was Roland Barthes's 'Death of the Author', translated by Richard Howard, marking the first time the text had been published in English.

Allen writes that O'Doherty creates a miniature, portable exhibition space but, unlike the 'white cube' that he was to critique later⁵¹, it would not remove art from everyday experience: 'However, rather than cloistering art from everyday life, *Aspen* released it back into the world, creating a distinctly temporal and participatory experience.'⁵² The magazine was forced to fold when the U.S. Postal Service revoked its second-class mail licence. The service did not recognise *Aspen* as a publication due to the inconsistency between issues. There was an obvious difficulty in categorising *Aspen* but this only reinforces Johnson's intent for the magazine. Johnson believed that her magazine, as a storehouse or cache of ideas and information, should exist somewhere between a publication, an event, an immersive experience and a gallery in microcosm, fulfilling her goal to bring art, music and culture directly to the public without an intermediary.

The artists William Copley and Dimitri Petrov founded The Letter Edged in Black Press in 1968 and began publishing the magazine *S.M.S.*, an acronym of *Shit Must Stop*. Copley published six issues of *S.M.S.* from February to December of that year in editions of 2,000 with a subscription fee of \$125. Each issue of the magazine

⁵¹ See Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1999)

⁵² Gwen Allen, 'The Artist as Bookmaker', in J. Herschend and W. Rogan (eds.), *The Thing The Book: A Monument to the Book as Object*, (San Francisco, 2014) p. 16

was delivered in the mail in printed boxed envelopes comprised of around a dozen portfolios (fig. 39). Each portfolio contained original works by groups of invited artists including Kosuth, Ono, Richard Hamilton, Christo and the gallerist Julien Levy. Like *Aspen*, *S.M.S.* was composed of a diverse range of artists and movements including Pop Art, Fluxus and Conceptual art. Copley was an avid collector of art and had briefly run a gallery of his own in Los Angeles, between September 1948 and February 1949, exhibiting works by Surrealist artists such as Magritte, Ernst and Man Ray. It was through Man Ray that Copley would meet and befriend Duchamp. Later, Copley would take his inspiration for the form of his publication in part from Duchamp's *Boîte-en-Valise*. Like the *Boîte* Copley's magazine was intended as an alternative museum in microcosm, free of the strictures of galleries and museums. One of the benefits of this lack of an imposed structure or precedent was that Copley was free to put the non-hierarchical principles of equal pay and direct distribution to the fore. He was also free to include any form of art and writing that he saw fit, as the critic Carter Ratcliff wrote:

Everything, from poetry to performance to traditional printmaking, received equal treatment. This principle of equality carried over to money matters: every contributor, no matter how illustrious, received a flat fee of \$100 for his or her work. Moreover, SMS bypassed the hierarchical labyrinth of museums and establishment galleries. Portfolios were sent directly to subscribers on the faith that an audience put in immediate contact with art would have a direct and powerful response.⁵³

The ability of *S.M.S.* to bypass the gallery was made possible by its direct relationship with the public through a process of subscriptions. For the relatively small fee of \$125, Copley's press would distribute portfolios of artworks, as opposed to reproductions, to the public. The time and labour involved in this process was sometimes intensive as in the case of Lil Picard's *Burned Bow Tie* (1968) (fig. 40), requiring two thousand bow ties to be individually singed before being placed in their respective boxed envelopes. The process of publishing the magazine was very expensive and while Copley was keen to finance the project, regardless of the cost, the magazine operated for less than one year. The bespoke nature of each magazine, a process that was time consuming and expensive, was the opposite to many of the alternative and underground magazines circulating at the time but while the aesthetics may have been different, both shared a desire to

⁵³ Carter Ratcliff, 'SMS: Art in Real Time', in I. Schaffner and M. Winzen (eds.), *Deep Storage: Collecting, Storing and Archiving in Art*, (Munich and New York, 1998) p.252

bring art into the everyday functions of modern life. Copley's *S.M.S.* aimed to do this by bypassing the gallery and delivering art straight to the door of willing subscribers, whereas underground magazine artists and writers sought to relocate their art and politics of protest from the streets to the pages of the magazine.

The cheap and easily produced magazine was a fundamental part of those counterculture and civil rights movements whose spirit of contestation mirrored and influenced that of their contemporaries in Conceptual art practice. The underground magazine, independent magazines and newspapers published cheaply, blossomed in the mid 1960s. Magazines and newspapers such as the *San Francisco Oracle*, the *Rat* and the *Black Panther Party Paper* represented the direct use of publishing as a political and social action for change (figs. 41-43). New and inexpensive printing technology allowed diverse groups from Women's Liberation to gay rights and anti-war movements to publish their concerns and distribute them beyond members of their respective groups. Conceptual artists were operating in what Siegelau termed the 'period of agitation, particularly of socio-political agitation.'⁵⁴ Allen, in an essay on the design of underground magazines as a social movement, wrote of the comparisons between Conceptual art practice and the underground press:

It seems impossible to fully understand and appreciate Conceptual art's radical investigations of language and the printed page in isolation from the revolutionary media practices of the underground press. [...] As underground papers chronicled events and experiences that were omitted from established media venues and expressed alternative political views and lifestyles, they insisted that communication was not only a matter of what was said, but how something was said.⁵⁵

Conceptual artists like Weiner used language in the form of short, declarative statements, such as 'One standard Air Force dye marker thrown into the sea' in the *January 5-31, 1969* catalogue-exhibition as a work that documents an action that may have already happened, may take place in the future or may never take place at all. The same short sentence has the ability to mean all three and none of these things simultaneously when utilised by Weiner as a form of dematerialised art. Weiner, while disagreeing with the notion that he was deliberately engaging in

⁵⁴ Richard 2009, p.467

⁵⁵ Gwen Allen, 'Design as a Social Movement', in Geoff Kaplan (ed.), *Power to the People: The Graphic Design of The Radical Press and the Rise of the Counter-culture, 1964-1974*, (Chicago, 2013) p. 93

countercultural practices through the use of language in the publications that he created and collected, wrote:

The extent of my activism was what presented itself as a necessity. As to what kind of press I was reading: the same press I was participating in and whatever came to hand. I did not see what you would refer to as graphic innovations. They were the result of the necessity of presenting a different form of information. Form did not follow function. Form was function.⁵⁶

The concept of 'form as function' is as true of Siegelau's catalogue-exhibitions as of the magazines and newspapers of the underground press. Both were concerned with the use of technology to widely distribute an unobstructed message. For the artists and writers of the underground press this was to argue for change and equality for their respective groups and organisations. For Siegelau, the aim was to place art into the hands of the public and to return control of the art market to the artists themselves. Siegelau used the form of the catalogue as a neutral space for the display of contentious, dematerialized art. This art was presented to the reader in the familiar form of information: texts, diagrams, mathematical illustrations and short descriptive phrases. In the same way, the underground press used the familiar forms of the newspaper and magazine to challenge social norms. Johnson and Copley also both strove to publish magazines that would function as alternative spaces for art but more importantly, would provide a means of distributing that art directly to members of the public. This direct access to art and ideas, bypassing the mediating influence of institutions like the gallery and museum, is similar to the direct engagement with publishing espoused by alternative publishers and underground presses. The underground magazines' freedom to create publications that tackle issues of interest to various subcultures, demonstrates that democratic principles were at the heart of artists' magazine practice at this time and that this was shared with their fellow Conceptual artists.

By contesting the space of the gallery and the system that commercialised and commodified art in the 1960s, Conceptual artists suggested a more democratic and direct form of displaying and distributing their dematerialised artworks. Critics, including Benjamin Buchloh, have deemed Conceptual art a failure in this respect. Buchloh writes, in 1990, twenty years after the zenith of Conceptual art practice and from a vantage point of 'the dialectic that links Conceptual Art, as the

⁵⁶ Weiner in Kaplan 2013, p.237

most rigorous elimination of visuality and traditional definitions of representation, to this decade of a rather violent restoration of traditional artistic forms and procedures of production.’⁵⁷ Buchloh warns against rigidly interpreting the totality of Conceptual art practice by extrapolating one strand of activity, such as Siegelau’s activities in New York.⁵⁸ It follows that it is just as unwise to ascribe the failings of Conceptual art to the publishing projects undertaken by Siegelau. Ultimately, Buchloh concludes that while Conceptual artists heralded their own work as a means of breaking the systems that governed the display and distribution of art, the reality was far less revolutionary:

Or worse yet, that the Enlightenment-triumph of Conceptual Art – its transformation of audiences and distribution, its abolition of object status and commodity form – would most of all only be shortlived, almost immediately giving way to the return of the ghostlike reappearitions of (prematurely?) displaced painterly and sculptural paradigms of the past. So that the specular regime, which Conceptual Art claimed to have upset, would soon be reinstated with renewed vigor. Which is of course what happened.⁵⁹

Siegelau and Kosuth both responded to Buchloh’s article in a letter that was later published in *October*. Siegelau charges that Buchloh poses his opinion as fact and that his lack of awareness of the issue stems from the lack of critical voices within Conceptual art who documented it at the time, save for Lippard and one or two others.⁶⁰ Despite Siegelau’s protest, Buchloh’s argument that Conceptual art’s radical approach to the direct distribution of art and their challenge to its commodification was short-lived, is accurate. The gallery system that Siegelau and others attempted to supplant remains a principal means of displaying and distributing object-based art within the international art market, alongside the auction house and the art fair. Siegelau cites Lippard, in opposition to Buchloh’s account, as a critic who lived and documented the experience in the late 1960s and early 1970s and in doing so prompts an appraisal of Lippard’s views on the success or failure of Conceptual art.

Accounts by Lippard in the decades after the peak of Conceptual art practice reveal that critics of Conceptualism’s legacy include those who were

⁵⁷ Benjamin Buchloh, ‘Conceptual Art 1962–1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions’, *October*, Vol. 55 (Winter, 1990), p.107

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.107

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p.143

⁶⁰ Joseph Kosuth and Seth Siegelau, ‘Joseph Kosuth and Seth Siegelau Reply to Benjamin Buchloh on Conceptual Art’, *October*, Vol. 57, (Summer, 1991) p.155-156

intimately bound up in it. Lippard is rueful of Conceptual art's failure to adequately break away from the commercialised gallery system and to reach the full potential of dematerialised art. The key to Conceptual art's failure, in Lippard's view, lay in the content of the work itself rather than its intent or execution:

Communication (but not community) and distribution (but not accessibility) were inherent in Conceptual art. Although the forms pointed toward democratic outreach, the content did not. However rebellious the escape attempts, most of the work remained art-referential, and neither economic or esthetic ties to the art world were fully severed (though at times we liked to think they were hanging by a thread). Contact with an audience was vague and undeveloped.⁶¹

Despite their goals of distributing art to a wider public by circumventing the gallery, the content of Conceptual artists' work remained bound up in the critique of object-based art and the institutions that governed its production. The work, therefore, was opaque and inaccessible to those outside of the art world that Conceptual artists sought to critique and this undoubtedly undermines Conceptualism's appeals to disrupting a specialised art market.

In conversation with Patricia Norvell, Siegelau explained his preoccupation with communicating information, regardless of how it is received and understood: 'I mean, the information may still be esoteric but it's getting to them you see.'⁶² Expanding on the point of the difference between distribution and accessibility in reference to works by Kosuth printed in a newspaper, Siegelau said:

But it couldn't be more accessible. They may not understand what it is or what it's about, but that has to do with outside information. So in that sense, by making a piece that is an unlimited edition of, say, a million copies in the case of big newspapers, or something like that, you've ready made your art; you've extended your art to a million people.⁶³

In his publications, Siegelau offered a non-hierarchical and standardised set of conditions to which each of his artists was invited to respond. As well as presenting opportunities to his artists that they could not find elsewhere, Siegelau was also concerned with tackling such foundational aspects of the art market as individual

⁶¹ Lippard 2007, p. xvi

⁶² Alberro and Norvell 2001, p.40

⁶³ Ibid. p.40

ownership, which he referred to as a *passé* condition.⁶⁴ Published in an edition of 1,000, the works contained within the *Xerox Book* could not be individually owned, only shared between each of the owners of the publication. As a gallerist and a publisher within Conceptual art practice, Siegelau considered his own role to be that of expanding the field of opportunity to a wider grouping of practitioners:

You have to remember that the democratising aspect to so-called Conceptual art opened up the field to many kinds of actors, even though it was an art period dominated by Anglo Saxon men. The horizon opened up to all sorts of other actors – women, black, yellow, white people – all sorts of other actors who could make art.⁶⁵

This justification from Siegelau is unusual, given the absence of women and people of colour from his publications. The 'January Show' as an exhibition of work by four white men features Adrian Piper, a woman of colour and an artist in her own right, playing the role of the secretary in Siegelau's ersatz gallery space. Despite his assertions that he was concerned with presenting opportunities these were, nevertheless, presented almost exclusively to a small group of white men. Siegelau was, however, committed to activities such as ensuring that the control of an artist's work remained with the artist themselves and not the institutions of the museum and gallery, which was, at least, to the benefit of all artists.

In 1971, Siegelau produced his *Artist's Reserved Rights Transfer and Sale Agreement*, a legal document that he drafted with the help of his friend, the lawyer Robert Projansky (fig. 44). Siegelau had intended for the document to become ubiquitous and act as a baseline standard to protect the rights and interests of artists operating within the international art market. While this has proven not to be the case, the document remains available and can be printed and used today by artists keen to protect their rights. In choosing the form of the catalogue-exhibition and dispatching copies to his network of bookstores and alternative gallery spaces across Europe and North America, Siegelau undoubtedly extends the reach of Conceptual art and makes it more easily available to the public. The dematerialised nature of the publication, in its form as a nondescript white book or calendar, gestures towards a lack of uniqueness or value as a commodity of a specialised art market. The content, however, in its reference to, and critique of, the institutions of the art world, remains addressed towards a specialised reader.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.39

⁶⁵ Richard 2009, p.469

The threads that link Siegelau's activities as a gallerist, curator and publisher of catalogue-exhibitions to his later political publishing projects, are the pre-eminence of communication and the desire to wrest control of the art market from institutions and return it to artists themselves. The ability of his publications to act as an alternative site for the display of Conceptual art is the first and most obvious way in which he seeks to render the commercial gallery, and thus the traditional gallerist, obsolete. The functions of the publication that Siegelau was keen to exploit are that it is relatively inexpensive and can be distributed widely with ease. The idea of distributing art directly via the publication allowed it to reach far beyond the confines of the gallery space and at an affordable price. The catalogue-exhibition was perfectly placed, in its function as an easily distributable publication, to act as a means of disseminating dematerialised artworks and subverting the hegemony of the gallery system.

Conclusion

Siegelaub produced publications in the late 1960s that did not simply replicate the conditions of the gallery but instead provided a means of displaying and distributing dematerialised art that was far more suitable to the requirements of the work. Siegelaub published exhibitions in the form of catalogues at a time when the ability of the gallery to continue to act as hegemonic site of the display and distribution of art was in doubt. These catalogue-exhibitions bypass the gallery system by allowing for the publisher to commission dematerialised artworks where the publication was the intended and primary site for its display and dissemination. The publications, therefore, were not art objects in themselves, rather they were the means by which the dematerialised art was displayed, distributed and purchased. The qualities of seriality and performativity that are inherent to the form of the *Xerox Book* are at the heart of its function as site of display. Each of the seven works in the book responds in some way to the ideas of repetition, representation and reproduction. The act of placing the works in sequences of twenty-five pages, each artist following the other, invites the viewer to participate in the gradual accretion of information, sometimes the same information repeated over twenty-five pages, via the act of page turning. The viewer also has control over how and which works can be viewed and in which sequence at any time they choose. That collection of information can also literally be handed over to another viewer or dispatched internationally, with the same information being seen in the same process by viewers across the world. Such qualities cannot be fully reproduced either in the form of the gallery or in the digital reproduction of the books. Siegelaub's original notion that his catalogues were concerned purely with the neutral transfer of information neglects the importance of these material qualities of the book in receiving and understanding that information.

There was no need for a traditional gallery space to show the works that Siegelaub's stable of artists were creating and, in many ways, the gallery proved unsuitable as a site for exhibiting work that was concerned primarily with challenging the institutions that governed the art world. Rather than the valuable and unique objects hitherto displayed within the gallery space, Siegelaub offered for consideration ideas in the form of information: short statements and diagrams; lines and dots. Siegelaub's publications presented and distributed art directly to the public without the mediating influence of the gallery or museum. The democratic

ideals that underpinned Conceptual art's rejection of the art object and gallery system failed to successfully insulate dematerialised art from being assimilated into the New York art market. Institutions such as the Museum of Modern Art, following the example of Szeeman at the Kunsthalle Bern, put on their own show of Conceptual art, *Information* in 1970. Conceptual art had thus been accepted into the institutional mainstream. It is also telling that, when Siegelauab made the decision to leave New York it was Leo Castelli, one of the most commercially successful post-war gallerists in New York, who took on representation of Barry (April-May 1971), Huebler (May-June 1971) and Weiner, (February 1971). He had represented Morris since 1967.⁶⁶ The traditional gallery easily survived the onslaught of Conceptual artists in the 1960s that sought alternative spaces of display and it remains the locus of the art market it always was. As demonstrated by the examples of *Aspen*, *S.M.S.* and the underground press, however, Siegelauab was not alone in his desire to place art in direct contact with the public without the mediating influence of the commercial gallery. Publications such as the *Xerox Book* and his series of catalogue-exhibitions of 1969, demonstrated that the gallery could be supplanted as principal exhibition site and that the publication could reach a far more diverse range of people than a standard exhibition could.

While critics and even practitioners of Conceptual art such as Buchloh and Lippard are right to criticise Conceptualism's failure to reset the relationship between artists, the gallery and the public, Siegelauab's goals as a gallerist and publisher are more specific than those of Conceptualism more generally. As a gallerist turned publisher, Siegelauab's publications provide opportunities for artists without the bureaucracy and financial hierarchy inherent in commercial galleries; they offer space to display dematerialised art in the most effective manner possible; and they can distribute art as information beyond the confines of both the gallery space and the New York art market. While it is true that Conceptual art failed to address adequately issues of equal representation and did not fully separate the practices of Conceptual artists from the commercial art market, Siegelauab was steadfast in his desire to create opportunities for artists and remove the institutional barriers between their work and the public in general. Siegelauab saw the opportunity presented by dematerialised art to give artists greater control over the display and dissemination of their work. His catalogue publications allowed artists to remove their art from the gallery system and distribute it directly

⁶⁶ Richard 2009, p.123

to the public via the publication. To revisit the *Xerox Book* or one of Siegelau's other catalogue-exhibitions, it is neither necessary nor desirable to visit the gallery space; one can simply reach for the bookshelf.

Chapter Five

Writing on/for/with Art: David Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series, subjective art writing and accessibility in the contemporary gallery publication, 2016 – present

David Zwirner (1964 -) founded his gallery at 43 Greene Street, in New York's SoHo neighbourhood, in 1993. At the time the gallery comprised one room and the first exhibition catalogue, for a solo show by Franz West, featured Zwirner's home address as the gallery location had not been finalised at the time of printing. In the early years of the gallery's history Zwirner exhibited works by emerging artists such as Diana Thater, Stan Douglas and Paul McCarthy. The gallery grew in the late 1990s and in 2002 Zwirner moved to new premises in the Chelsea neighbourhood. He opened a Mayfair gallery at 24 Grafton Street in London in 2012 and expanded to Hong Kong in 2016. In 2014, the David Zwirner Gallery formed a publishing house dedicated to publishing catalogues, monographs, artists' books and other publications associated with the gallery's programme of exhibitions. While David Zwirner had published catalogues to accompany major exhibitions at his gallery since it first opened, the publishing house, David Zwirner Books, represented a marked increase in focus on the form of the publication by the gallerist. In the last four years alone, David Zwirner Books has produced seventy publications, more than half of the total number of books published by Zwirner since 1995.

In 2016 Lucas Zwirner, the gallerist's son and editorial director of the publishing house, launched the first titles in the *ekphrasis* series. The series currently comprises eight texts from authors including Paul Gauguin, Marcel Proust, Alexander Nemerov and Vernon Lee, with a further two texts due to be published in November 2018 and a planned publishing output of four texts per year thereafter. The aim of the series is to publish 'rare, out-of-print, and newly commissioned texts as accessible paperback volumes.'¹ The specific focus on *ekphrastic* writing, and on the idea of the accessibility of the text, requires close study: Why *ekphrasis*? What does the promotion of *ekphrasis*, as a rhetorical device for the verbalisation of the experience of visual art, offer for the contemporary

¹ <https://davidzwirnerbooks.com/page/ekphrasis>

gallerist? In what way is *ekphrastic* writing more accessible than a more common form of catalogue essay? What does the inclusion of individual *ekphrastic* texts in the series suggest about Zwirner's approach to publishing and about the place of art writing within the contemporary gallery publication?

In this chapter I explore *ekphrasis* as a rhetorical strategy within contemporary gallery publishing in order to discern how gallerists today use the publication as a means of mediating the relationship between the artist, the gallery and the public. I argue that a focus on a form of writing that privileges the personal, subjective experience of artworks over objective criticism is part of a larger democratising strategy of making art more accessible to a wider public. In the two previous chapters, I focused on publishing as a democratising strategy by considering the idea of widening distribution and collectability and the provision of an alternative space for engaging with works of art directly. This chapter shifts focus to consider how writing on art can be employed to influence the reader's experience and approach to both historical and contemporary artworks. While subjective writing could easily prove to obfuscate meaning more than the traditional catalogue essay, I contend that it offers a less didactic relationship between author and reader and does not require any prior knowledge of an artwork beyond the viewer's own experience of it either in person or through reproduction in the form of the publication.

In the first half of this chapter I examine the *ekphrasis* series published by David Zwirner Books. Specifically, I focus on the nature of the texts as examples of *ekphrastic* writing and their role in making art available to a wider public by asking in what way does *ekphrastic* writing lead to more accessible texts? There is an obvious commercial element to the business of publishing contemporary books and catalogues and there is no attempt here to deny that the publication functions as a publicity tool for a gallery's artists. Rosalind Krauss and other critics have, however, suggested that publicity is the primary function of the publication and that, due to the commercial associations of gallerists as publishers, the publications they produce lead to a shrinking of the 'discursive space' around an artist that is vital to developing a critical understanding of their work.² I therefore ask if a focus on *ekphrasis* is to the detriment of the field of objective criticism specifically, and to contemporary art discourse more widely. I also consider the various threads of

² I discuss this critique, made by Krauss and her fellow critics, in detail in the following section of this chapter.

traditional and contemporary *ekphrastic* theory, in order to discern the critical implications of this form of gallery publishing. I make no attempt, in the space provided, to offer a full account of the wealth of current scholarship on *ekphrasis*. Instead, the aim here is to examine how *ekphrastic* writing offers a level of critical engagement that is accessible to a wide audience.

In the second half of this chapter, I explore a wider shift towards subjectivity and the experiential in contemporary art writing by examining various rhetorical approaches within the exhibition catalogues of international contemporary art galleries. Again, the focus is on the idea of an *ekphrastic* engagement with works of art and the strategies of verbalising visual art in the text of exhibition catalogues. What do these rhetorical strategies tell us about the gallerist as publisher? Is there a sense that the interpretation of an artist's work is being guided by the catalogue text? Or does contemporary art writing offer an increased level of interpretive agency to the reader? The galleries, including Gagosian, Hauser & Wirth and White Cube, were chosen as exemplars because of their prominent position within the contemporary art market and the international reach of their commercial publishing practices. By applying *ekphrastic* principles to the art writing within the catalogues of these galleries, it is possible to discern the limits of critical engagement offered by the contemporary gallery catalogue as well as establishing how contemporary gallerist publishers approach new forms of responding to visual art linguistically.

I: From Proust to *Pissing Figures*: Strategies of verbalising the visual in David Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series

The first two books of David Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series, published in 2016, are *Ramblings of a Wannabe Painter* by Paul Gauguin and *Chardin and Rembrandt* by Marcel Proust (figs.1-3). The Gauguin text, titled *Raconteurs de rapin* in the original French, was written in 1902, a few months before the artist's death in the Marquesas Islands. It was originally intended to be published in the Symbolist magazine *Mercure de France* but was rejected at the time. The Zwirner edition of Gauguin's text was translated by Donatien Grau, who defends his, seemingly 'flippant', translation of the title in his introductory essay to the book, 'The Last Words of the First Modern Artist'. Grau argues that his title is in the spirit of the original French, where a *racontar* is the type of story that is told *ad nauseam*, and *rapin*, a term for an apprentice painter, has been employed ironically by Gauguin who was writing at the end of his long career.³ The use of the slang 'wannabe' is a deliberate evocation of Gauguin's use of the vernacular in his text:

In keeping with his critiques of the writers of his time, Gauguin avoids an overly formal, *fin-de-siècle* approach; instead, he writes in lively, sometimes colloquial French. His language emerged from the people's language, and he brings to it his unique eye and extensive knowledge⁴

The flippancy of the title, therefore, is directly tied to Gauguin's own approach to writing the text and immediately informs the reader of what to expect from the book. The polemical text, a rueful artist's tirade against the contemporary field of art criticism, is a provocative choice for one of the first books in the new series. The opening line, 'Criticism is our censorship...' sets the tone for his targeting of the many faults and poor judgements of art critics, all of which are members of the 'litterati'.⁵ Gauguin, casting himself in opposition to the *litterati* as a painter, writes that he will try to talk about painting, not as a duty 'but a fancy'.⁶ If he exaggerates, he writes, then he trusts the reader to take it as the result of a 'turbulent mind'.⁷

The second book, published alongside the first, to inaugurate the *ekphrasis* series is Proust's unfinished essay recounting an imagined experience of walking

³ Donatien Grau, 'The Last Words of the First Modern Artist', in Paul Gauguin, *Ramblings of a Wannabe Painter*, (New York, 2016), pp.9-10

⁴ Ibid. p.10

⁵ Paul Gauguin, *Ramblings of a Wannabe Painter*, (New York, 2016), p.13

⁶ Ibid. p.13

⁷ Ibid. p.13

through the Louvre. Alain Madeleine-Perdrillat, in the afterword to the book, suggests that the essay was probably written in 1895, when Proust was twenty-four.⁸ Like Gauguin, Proust employs a conversational tone, though his is admittedly more genteel than the abrasive Gauguin. Proust opens by asking the reader to imagine an average man ‘of modest means and artistic inclinations, sitting in his dining room at that banal, dismal moment when the midday meal has just finished and the table is only partly cleared.’⁹ Having conjured his young man, Proust proceeds to lead him through the French galleries at the Louvre, and make him ‘stop in front of the works of Chardin.’¹⁰ What follows is a masterful blend of description and illumination, ending abruptly on an unfinished thought and incomplete sentence. What do these very different approaches to art writing by Gauguin, an artist at the end of his career, and Proust, a young writer at the beginning of his, suggest about the direction and aims of the *ekphrasis* series as a whole? And what are the implications for their publisher, and the contemporary gallery, of these two obscure texts from the turn of the last century by household names in the fields of art and literature?

I asked Lucas Zwirner why, as editorial director, he chose these texts as the gallery’s inaugural *ekphrasis* books and how the series came about. He related the choice of the Proust text, in particular, as emblematic of the idea behind the series as a whole; to publish a literary account of an idealised experience with art:

Most of us do not have idealised experiences with art. Most of the time, we wander through a museum and it doesn’t happen [...] but the more you understand that it can happen, the more one opens oneself up to the possibility of it happening. [...] This early essay by Proust is a classic example of this kind of idealised experience; it’s first person, it’s Proust walking through the Louvre having these ecstatic experiences with very static, and in some cases, very quiet objects. ¹¹

Proust leads the young man, as proxy for the reader, through his transcendent experience of the paintings of Chardin and later, Rembrandt. Zwirner suggests that the key to having these idealised experiences of art is rooted in an increased awareness of their possibility. This echoes Proust who, addressing the hypothetical

⁸ Alain Madeleine-Perdrillat, Afterword, in Marcel Proust, *Chardin and Rembrandt*, (New York, 2016), p.43

⁹ Marcel Proust, *Chardin and Rembrandt*, (New York, 2016), p.11

¹⁰ Ibid. p.12

¹¹ Interview with Lucas Zwirner, Edinburgh, 15 May 2018 (See Appendix I for full transcript of interview)

young man of the text, writes of the connection between the viewer and artist as one that exists before the viewer is even aware of it. The beauty that the viewer sees in a still life by Chardin is due to the beauty that Chardin saw in the scene that first drove him to paint it.¹² The pleasure that the viewer takes, Proust writes, in a scene by Chardin is a direct result of the pleasure that Chardin took upon viewing the scene before painting it:

The feeling of pleasure was already there in you, unconsciously, at the sight of a humble existence and scenes of still life, otherwise it would not have arisen within you when Chardin, in his brilliant, compelling language, happened to summon it.¹³

Proust's concocted young man was, without knowing it, prepared for such an experience with the art of Chardin but required some guidance from the author on how to look at the works before his eyes. This is a model, Zwirner suggests, for the *ekphrasis* series in general, in which various authors guide their readers to idealised moments with works of art, thereby reaching and inspiring a new audience to look and think about art differently.

Proust ends his text by highlighting the limitations of language to capture the creative processes of visual artists. If Chardin had been aware of all that Proust had written of him, he would likely find it alien to his experience of creating the work. Proust asks the reader to reject the outside voice of the experts, 'men of letters', in favour of a personal, innate response to the art on display:

A woman does not need any knowledge of medicine in order to give birth, a man does not need to know the psychology of love in order to feel love, and he does not need to know the mechanism of anger in order to...¹⁴

Proust leaves the sentence and his essay tantalisingly incomplete but the point that he was in the midst of making is nevertheless clear; one does not need the outside expertise of the critic in order to experience visual art. One simply has to look to the work itself to see the beauty being communicated by the artist in a process that is as natural as love, anger, or childbirth. Therein lies the common thread linking the Proust and Gauguin texts. Writing a decade apart and both with Parisian critics in mind, Proust's 'men of letters' are Gauguin's *litterati* with their academic, historicising bent:

¹² Proust 2016, p.12

¹³ Ibid. p.13

¹⁴ Ibid. p.24

When looking at an artist's work, only the future matters; the so-called well-educated critics are only educated in matters of the past – And what do they remember besides names in catalogues?'¹⁵

Gauguin's scathing account of the critics is not only based on their propensity to create hierarchies of influence but also on the fact that they are immune to learning lessons because they 'already know everything!'¹⁶ Gauguin, however, sets out his own view that requires one to examine oneself as much as the artwork on display.¹⁷ Leaving aside the merits of Gauguin's anti-critical stance, what is interesting here is the choice of this text by the publisher to launch a new series. According to Zwirner, these texts set the stage for the series as a whole in their advocacy for new ways of looking and thinking about art that are based on closer, personal relationships between the viewer and the artwork. They also, however, promote a shift away from objective criticism towards subjective experience. What does this suggest, then, for the role of the critic and the traditional catalogue essay?

One of the principal motivations for the creation of the *ekphrasis* series was Zwirner's view that the exhibition catalogue had not proven a good site for *ekphrastic* writing. 'Most exhibition catalogues do not contain good *ekphrastic* writing', Zwirner said, 'they are sites of anti-*ekphrastic* writing [...] pedantic, misguided, jargon-heavy stuff.'¹⁸ What is the audience for the kind of essay that Zwirner describes? Who are these essays for? For one, the gallery catalogue has become a ubiquitous adjunct to a gallerist's practice and is thus expected. This expectation does not lie only with members of the public but also with the artists themselves. I suggest to Zwirner that the benefit to the artist of the traditional catalogue essay written by esteemed critics is the act of canon formation. Do artists come to Zwirner, as editor, with their own list of pre-approved critics and academics? How does one then avoid the catalogue becoming a tool simply for the flattery of the artist? Zwirner acknowledges that this can be the case but suggests that his primary concern is producing texts that are not only interesting but are also accessible:

¹⁵ Gauguin 2016, pp.15-16

¹⁶ Ibid. p.19

¹⁷ Ibid. p.16

¹⁸ Zwirner 2018. While I accept this may have been Zwirner's personal experience of the contemporary catalogue essay, I come on to address the nature of *ekphrastic* writing in the contemporary exhibition catalogue in more detail in the final section of this chapter.

It happens all the time. Sometimes I have to say 'I don't think it's a good idea' or 'I think we need to think a little outside the box.' I think you're right that historically, canon formation has happened in a very traditional way. [...] It has happened through the most famous or most renowned art historians engaging with an artist's work. [...] and artists want to be written about by those people but that doesn't mean those people should not be encouraged to write in a way that opens the work up to as wide an audience as possible.¹⁹

When undertaking the editing process, Zwirner looks at the prose and asks 'Who can read this?' Zwirner, whose education was in comparative literature and philosophy at Yale, makes his judgement on the basis of the accessibility of the type of language used in the text. If the answer to his question 'who can read this' is that the text appeals to very few people and has been produced for a primarily academic audience, then Zwirner asks the author to think again and to find another way of phrasing their ideas.²⁰ Zwirner speaks of approaching the artist with a compromise: 'I understand you want Benjamin Buchloh to write in this book but let's find someone else who tempers that or adds something that could bring a different audience into the picture.'²¹ Alongside an essay by a critic like Buchloh, he suggests, could sit a more personal reflection by a less well-known author: 'They may not canonise you in the sense that Buchloh would, but they can canonise you with an audience that you otherwise don't have access to.'²² The reference to Buchloh is apt given the discussions early in the last decade, by Buchloh and others on the role of criticism and the gallery publication.

The critic Rosalind Krauss and her colleagues at *October* have voiced their sense of a mutual distrust in the working relationship between gallerists and critics in recent years. In a roundtable discussion featured in the 2002 *October* volume that was subtitled 'Obsolescence'. Krauss and her fellow critics, including Buchloh, argued that, with the rise in prominence of the gallerist, the traditional role of the critic as arbiter of aesthetic and intellectual value in art has been diminished and, with it, the level of discourse around contemporary art. In the discussion Krauss said:

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Dealers, I think, used to feel that the work of art didn't exist in a discursive vacuum, that it was given its existence in part by critical discourse, and therefore there was a need for catalogues with serious essays by critics. That perceived need, on the part of both the artist and the dealer, seems to have diminished in the last ten years, to the point where the institution of those catalogues has for the most part disappeared. And what seems to have replaced it is simply the fact that the artist is having shows regularly at an established gallery and that is enough. This sense that there is a kind of discursive space within which the artist has to be placed in order for the work to take on a certain kind of importance has pretty much vanished in established art magazines as well.²³

Krauss then, believes that the discursive space in which artists are to be placed in order for their work to achieve any kind of significance is vanishing. What has taken its place, she argues, is a 'discursive vacuum'. The fault lies, it seems, with contemporary dealers and artists who no longer see 'serious essays' by critics as a necessity in the catalogue.

Krauss's main points were seconded by Buchloh, who added that the traditional idea of artistic practice generating a 'critical if not utopian level of experience' had 'withered away'²⁴. What was left, he argued, was 'a sense of the primacy of institutional and economic interests.'²⁵ Buchloh goes on to re-affirm the argument that the art world is now more reliant on, and responsive to, the business acumen of gallerists than on the intellectual debate of critics:

Now, all you have to have is the competence of quality judgements and the high-level connoisseurship that serves as investment expertise. My exaggeration [...] serves to say that you don't need criticism for an investment structure, you need experts. You don't have criticism of blue chip stocks either.²⁶

Both Buchloh and Krauss pit the commercial interests of the gallerist against the notion of critical objectivity. They would suggest that, biased as they are by their desire to make money, gallerists are responsible for producing publications that do not critically engage with an artist's work in any substantive way and thus lead to a shrinking of the discursive space in which that artist's work may be understood.

²³ George Baker, Rosalind Krauss, Benjamin Buchloh, Andrea Fraser, David Joselit, James Meyer, Robert Storr, Hal Foster, John Miller and Helen Molesworth, 'Round Table: The Present Conditions of Art Criticism', *October*, Vol. 100, Obsolescence (Spring, 2002), p.202

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.202

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.202

²⁶ *Ibid*, p.202

They are challenged on their statements by the artist Andrea Fraser but not in a defence of the contemporary exhibition catalogue, rather in a denial that the catalogue ever held such discursive power at all. Fraser does this by questioning the scholarly and critical legitimacy of essays in exhibition catalogues historically:

I think we have to be careful how we're defining criticism. For example, if we're defining criticism according to a criterion of critique, I would have to ask whether essays in gallery catalogues, which are fundamentally, marketing tools, ever really played that role. On the other hand, if we're defining criticism as writing about art, while "serious" essays in catalogues and journals may play less of a role in establishing artistic reputations, the popular press and popular media seem to be playing a much greater role.²⁷

Even when expanding the definition of criticism to mean, in its broadest sense, simply 'writing about art', Fraser argues that even these essays are much less relevant now than they were hitherto. Fraser uses the example of the YBAs in London, arguing that they are defined more by the popular press than the domestic art market. Again, the conclusion drawn is that when it comes to the gallerist's goal when producing exhibition catalogues, the emphasis is on publicity rather than producing a discursive space within which to understand the work. The problem seems not to be with the personal motivation of the writers themselves, as Krauss and her colleague Buchloh have notably contributed essays for commercial gallery catalogues. Rather, the overarching issue for Krauss et al seems to be the systematic cutting off of a discursive space through the intercession of the gallerist and a business model that does not encourage critical discourse.

In the course of our interview, I put to Zwirner the criticism of Krauss and Buchloh, that the gallerist as publisher is compromised by their obvious financial motivations against using the catalogue as a site for objective criticism. Zwirner acknowledges the obvious financial incentive to publish writers that favour the artists represented by David Zwirner Gallery but suggests that the gallery's primary role of dealing in contemporary art gives the publishing operation the freedom to pursue projects without profit being at the forefront of their considerations. In the *ekphrasis* series, in particular, there is no direct link between the writers or artists discussed in the series and the artists represented by the gallery. Indeed, upon taking up the role of editorial director, Zwirner said his

²⁷ Ibid, 202-203.

mandate was to publish books that fell outside of the gallery programme.²⁸ It is, Zwirner said, an opportunity to do something experimental, summarised by his overall approach to the series: 'What is the thing that you couldn't get published anywhere else? I'd like to publish that.'²⁹ The commercial motivations of publishing for a gallerist cannot be ignored but they also cannot be the last word on evaluating their publishing oeuvre, as Buchloh and Krauss would suggest. The kind of critical writing that Krauss and Buchloh refer to may be absent from the contemporary gallery catalogue but this absence does not, in itself, suggest a discursive vacuum around an artist and their work. A shift to a more personal, subjective style of writing within the gallery publication has its own discursive merit and serves to make the process of art writing more accessible, for both the reader and the author.

While Zwirner readily admits that no gallerist would typically choose to publish a writer that is unsympathetic to an artist's work, this is not his primary motivation in seeking to expand his publishing practice beyond the catalogue essay to more diverse forms of text-and-image relations. In one instance, the artist Kerry James Marshall approached him with the suggestion that Buchloh should write an essay for his upcoming catalogue precisely because Marshall felt that Buchloh was not particularly responsive to his work and he wished him to engage with it in some way. Zwirner suggests, however, that such an essay should be accompanied by another writer, someone like the writer and artist Teju Cole 'or someone unexpected, who will temper what is a much more traditional voice.'³⁰ In a recent interview, Cole explained his approach to writing and photography, as one that is very much in concert with Zwirner's concerns as a publisher:

²⁸ Zwirner 2018

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Zwirner 2018

I would say that I'm trying to go for an irrepressibly subjective quality in the work. It has to be subjective because for me it is important to not be speaking from a place of authority, or from the assumed centre of the discourse. I am coming to all of this as one person in my own life, speaking to you, in your own life. I'm not at the centre of the discourse, I'm not a heterosexual white man who comes from a long line of artistic privilege or anything like that. I have experiences that are outsider-ish, I experience the world in a highly subjective way. And then to realize that that subjectivity is actually worth transmitting, that it can be a gathering point. If I'm writing for photography criticism, if I'm writing fiction, or if I'm making an image: the burden of speaking in a neutral, objective, and permanent way, like a block of granite — I don't have that burden. I can just testify to an intense, small, highly personal experience, and trust that because we all have intense, small, highly personal experiences it's gonna meet someone out there. It's about trusting subjectivity as a mode of ethical discourse.³¹

Cole's subjectivity in his writing and art is a product of his subjective 'outsider-ish' experiences. His realisation that his experiences and his voice are valid within critical writing is based on his knowledge of the transmissibility of this experience. Though it should be noted that the majority of authors in the series are white and male, *ekphrasis* as a practice nevertheless is founded on the idea that there is not one, central voice but rather a multiplicity of potential personal experiences. In *ekphrastic* writing, the author communicates their personal experience of a work of art and is reliant on the empathic abilities of the reader. This empathic ability is inherent and requires no expert knowledge of the art world in the exchange between author and reader. The notion of the transmissibility of one's personal experience of an artwork is at the heart of the *ekphrasis* series, and particularly reflects the views espoused by another of its authors, Vernon Lee, a pseudonym of the writer Violet Paget.

One of the most recent books in the series is Lee's *The Psychology of an Art Writer*, published in 2018, which contains the eponymous essay as well as her 'Gallery Diaries' (fig.4). 'The Psychology of an Art Writer (Personal Observation)' and 'Gallery Diaries' were originally published in French in the magazine *Revue philosophique* in 1903 and 1905 respectively. Lee is perhaps best known for her supernatural fiction but she also produced texts on travel, art criticism and philosophy. Her work is primarily concerned with the personal response of the viewer to a work of art. In the first essay, 'Psychology of an Art Writer (Personal

³¹ Teju Cole in conversation with Patrick Marschke, 'Exploring the Irrepressibly Subjective with Teju Cole', *Liquid Music*, (29 May, 2018) <http://www.liquidmusic.org/blog/exploring-the-irrepressibly-subjective-with-teju-cole>

Observation)', Lee is keen to stress that her experience is not that of an expert, either in the field of visual art or writing.³² She writes of her timidity in approaching questions of perspective and anatomy and her fear that a lack of technical knowledge would inhibit her understanding of a work of art:

My ignorance gave me the illusion that I was faced with a kingdom of mystery whose borders I dreaded to cross. It seems likely that, for a long time, the thought of my own technical incompetence kept me from occupying myself with the *visible form* in art in the same way that my eyes and feelings were ingenuously employed with respect to natural objects. Could one judge such things adequately without knowing if the foreshortening was properly executed, if a perspective was incorrect, or if a canvas had been repainted? ³³

Buoyed by the realisation that appreciating the beauty of a work of art is not reliant on knowledge of its technical composition, Lee proceeds to record in great detail her own experiences of artworks, in particular her physical and emotional experience while looking at a work of art. Lee would also record the experiences of her partner, the artist Kit Anstruther-Thomson in a bid to get to the heart of the effect art has on one's body and mind.

In her 'Gallery Diaries', Lee takes great care to note all of the outside experiences that affect her appreciation of a work of art. From her tiredness or boredom or the music stuck in her head; all are fundamental to her experience of the work:

The Venetian Room. I am tired, bored, disinclined to look at anything. The various paces, glances, the utter irrelevance of these wallfulls affects me like a crowd. I think a piece of pure colour would revive me (all this is dark and smoky).³⁴

The changeability of one's personal feelings, based on the outside conditions of viewing a work of art, mean that they cannot be separated from one's overall experience of it. Lee approaches a work by Da Vinci, with the pre-expectation that she will like it, 'and as a result, perhaps, am pleased at once!'³⁵ A *Madonna* is at first off-putting because she is viewing it too closely, when she retreats to the middle of the room, however, 'Wonder, miracle!'³⁶ Lee's changing experiences of the same

³² Vernon Lee, 'Psychology of an Art Writer (Personal Observation)', *Psychology of an Art Writer*, (New York, 2018), p.37

³³ Ibid. p.38

³⁴ Vernon Lee, 'Gallery Diaries', *Psychology of an Art Writer*, (New York, 2018), p.83

³⁵ Ibid. p.84

³⁶ Ibid. p.85

works of art returns the reader to an idea posited early in the *ekphrasis* series; that there is no central, critical voice that can fully capture the experience of looking at a work of art:

No wonder all criticism is wrong', she writes, 'when we stand against a rail and look down into our pockets or up under the brim of our hats! Of course a great picture, like that Leonardo, is made to be seen at several goes.³⁷

Viewing art is a process that involves the viewer being as aware of their own feelings and surroundings as much as the work of art itself. It is a process that begins by looking at a work of art but also of being mindful of one's own presuppositions, personal feelings and outside conditions. Rather than looking to a work to find a reflection of one's own experience, Lee suggests that the reader look to oneself first to find the beauty of the work as reflected in the physical and emotional impact it exerts. This practice that prioritises personal feeling over the historical importance or critical significance of a work of art does not require a specialized knowledge and is, thus, open to anyone wishing to pick up the book or look at one of the works of art described within.

Zwirner makes the case that appealing to a non-specialised reader in the *ekphrasis* series does not remove the capacity for critical engagement. The principal drive of the series, however, as part of the gallery's wider strategy since incorporating the separate publishing house, is how to engage and reach a new audience via the publication:

The worst thing that happens when you open a book is to feel that you are not smart enough. You are 'uninvited' from the book. If there is one thing I want every book to say it's that 'you are invited.' The colour should invite you. The design should invite you. You should open it up and the prose should invite you. Even if it is complicated. [...] Nothing in there should make you feel like you don't 'get' it or it's not for you. [...] It's about taking a rarefied language and thinking 'what are the fundamental ideas that drive this language?' What are the things that matter most to artists and people who think about art and how can we get them to be said in a way that everyone should be able to read, if they are curious?.³⁸

As Zwirner makes clear, accessibility does not require an over-simplification, or 'dumbing down' of the ideas at play within these texts. The work of art and the concepts it raises may be complicated but the prose should not. This is reflected in

³⁷ Ibid. p.86

³⁸ Zwirner 2018

the overall coherence of the design of the series, and the importance that the books as objects are attractive to the reader. According to Zwirner, everything from the design of the book to the prose should be inviting to the reader. In this aspect of the design and appearance of each of his books, David Zwirner plays a large role.³⁹ The books are immediately recognisable as a series due to the uniformity of their design, where the simple but colourful covers mirror the lively, provocative texts within. Michael Dyer, principal of Remake, the design firm responsible for the design of the series has also stressed the accessibility of the books as a key factor in their overall design.⁴⁰ The eight currently published books are pocket-sized, mostly slim volumes with the same design, with each cover given a different bold colour demonstrating that despite the differences across the content of the texts, they should be viewed as part of a whole. The size of the books makes them, literally, accessible, in that they are designed to be carried anywhere and browsed at leisure.

The diversity of artistic interests reflected the *ekphrasis* series is also a testament to Zwirner's objective of publishing books that have a widespread appeal. Alongside the titles already mentioned by Gauguin, Proust and Lee sit the letters of Rainer Maria Rilke to a young Balthus; a possibly fictional account of Degas's treatment of his studio models; Ruskin's account of Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel frescoes; and a reflection on the act of remembering, prompted by the photographs of a Japanese Kamikaze pilot, by the art historian Alexander Nemerov. The most successful of their titles in the series, however, is also perhaps the most unconventional. Jean-Claude Lebensztejn's *Pissing Figures 1280 – 2014* is a history of the pissing figure in art. It was, as Zwirner said, 'a book that nobody else would touch.'⁴¹ One of the upcoming titles, due to be released in November 2018, is Donald Shambroom's *Duchamp's Last Day*, which is an artist's meditative imagining of the last moments of Duchamp's life, inspired by a photograph taken by Man Ray moments after his death. Again, Zwirner says, 'this is a book that nobody else would publish.'⁴² The series, therefore, from Gauguin at its beginning to Shambroom, represents not just the expansion of discourse around an artist but also the expansion of discourse on art by artists.

By publishing a broad range of texts, from the forgotten to the new, the classic to the idiosyncratic, I argue that Zwirner uses the experimental freedom as a

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ <https://www.davidzwirner.com/news/ekphrasis-ekphrasis>

⁴¹ Zwirner 2018

⁴² Ibid.

publisher afforded him by the association with the commercial gallery, to draw out a variety of approaches to art writing that are surprising and experimental. This is all toward the overall goal of engaging a new audience and, of course, expanding the cultural reach of the gallery. The content of the texts themselves, and the clear publishing strategy to privilege personal, experiential accounts of viewing art, is what opens up this series to a much wider audience. For Zwirner, the key to the success of the series is being able to provide what is, at times, esoteric content, within a book that looks genuinely 'fun' to read. This element of fun and engagement is at the heart of the series that embodies new approaches to *ekphrastic* writing. In terms of critical engagement, the reader is invited to position their own, subjective responses, in place of the specialised voice of the critic, representing an expansion of accessibility not just in content but also in interpretive engagement with art.

II: Speaking Out or Talking Over? Hierarchical and hermeneutical relationships between text and image in *ekphrastic* theory

Ekphrasis, like Achilles, was brought into being with Homer's *Iliad*. While literary scholars may disagree on the scope and application of *ekphrasis*, it is Homer's description of the intricate carvings on Achilles's shield that is most often cited as the first example of an extended piece of writing on a work of art, albeit an imaginary one. Writers such as Murray Krieger, James A.W. Heffernan, W.J.T. Mitchell and Susan Harrow have successively laid out the findings of their expansive exploration of *ekphrasis* and delivered definitions and implied applications for the term. Though *ekphrasis* has traditionally been a term used specifically to discuss poetry which incorporates a description of visual art; by tracing a narrative through the theoretical cases laid out by Heffernan and Harrow particularly, it is possible to widen its definition and application. This will serve to place art writing more generally under the scope of an *ekphrastic* analysis.

Despite Lucas Zwirner's suggestion that the exhibition catalogue had not proven a good site for *ekphrastic* writing, the catalogue itself is fertile ground for *ekphrastic* examination given its implied primary task of reflecting on works of art in an exhibition linguistically as well as the assumed proximity of catalogues to their visual subjects. Thus, the relationships in question in the catalogue are not only the direct relationship between writing and the artwork as reproduced in the catalogue but also the relationships between the reader, the artwork and the catalogue. When tracing the history of the term *ekphrasis* and its potential applications to text-image relations it is apparent that the exhibition catalogue is a prime site for *ekphrastic* engagement and so it seems particularly pertinent, when examining the discursive power of the exhibition catalogue, that they be viewed through the prism of *ekphrasis*. The aim in doing so is to both get to the root of the function of the contemporary catalogue by focusing on its constituent parts while further investigating the claim that an absence of objective criticism is prohibitive to any form of critical discourse.

Though the history of *ekphrasis* extends to ancient Greece⁴³, it is much more recent studies in the field that are pertinent to the examination of *ekphrasis* in the catalogue. Heffernan and Harrow have made particular strides in expanding the scope of discussion around *ekphrasis*, building on the studies of their predecessors

⁴³ *Ekphrasis* translates literally as 'speaking out'. Heffernan references this original definition in his description of *prosopopoeia*, which is itself explored later in this section.

to formulate an understanding of the term that is solid without being static. Turning first to Heffernan, one can establish a clear understanding of what will be referred to here as 'traditional *ekphrasis*'.⁴⁴ Heffernan's definition of *ekphrasis* is 'simple in form' but 'complex in its implications'.⁴⁵ According to Heffernan's analysis in his essay '*Ekphrasis and Representation*', the definition is indeed simple in form; encapsulated in one sentence: '*ekphrasis is the verbal representation of graphic representation*'.⁴⁶ Aware of the very broad reach of such a definition, Heffernan goes into greater detail over the course of his essay to trace the roots of the term and its traditional application in poetic writing on art. One thing that Heffernan's term excludes is literature about texts, which had previously been considered as examples of *ekphrastic* engagement. He is also keen to distinguish *ekphrasis* from the related terms 'pictorialism' and 'iconicity'.⁴⁷ In excluding these terms, Heffernan concludes: 'What *ekphrasis* represents in words, therefore, must itself be *representational*'.⁴⁸ It is by limiting the scope of *ekphrasis* to focus on the use of one means of representation to represent another, he argues, that allows a clear line to be drawn from classical to postmodern *ekphrasis*, despite the apparent differences between the two:

While classic *ekphrasis*, they say, salutes the skill of the artist and the miraculous verisimilitude of the forms he creates, postmodern *ekphrasis* undermines the concept of verisimilitude itself.⁴⁹

Heffernan draws parallels from Homeric *ekphrasis* to the postmodern by highlighting the fact that both draw attention to the difference between what is represented and the medium in which it is represented. Heffernan argues that when Homer draws attention to the difference between what is represented and reality, he 'implicitly draws our attention to the friction between the fixed forms of graphic representation and the narrative thrust of his words'.⁵⁰ This friction is one

⁴⁴ It should be noted, however, that the title 'traditional *ekphrasis*' comes from Harrow, not Heffernan, for reasons that will be made clear when examining Harrow's writing on the subject.

⁴⁵ James A.W. Heffernan, 'Ekphrasis and Representation', *New Literary History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Probing: Art, Criticism, Genre (Spring, 1991), p.299.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.299. Author's italics.

⁴⁷ 'What distinguishes those two things from *ekphrasis* is that each one aims primarily to represent natural objects and artifacts rather than works of representational art.' Ibid, p.299.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.300.

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp.300-301.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.301.

that Heffernan returns to as one of the key factors in the relationship between text and image within *ekphrasis* in that it is primarily concerned with opposing forces of graphic 'stasis' and narrative 'movement.'⁵¹ In this view, he departs from Krieger, who had suggested that *ekphrasis* represents a moment of linguistic pausing to consider the visual work. Heffernan counters that, *ekphrasis* is responsible for 'deliver[ing] from the pregnant moment of graphic art its embryonically narrative impulse, and thus mak[ing] explicit the story that graphic art tells only by implication.'⁵²

Heffernan's reading of *ekphrasis* is characterised in his argument that 'language releases a narrative impulse which graphic art restricts'.⁵³ In the opposition between language and the image, it is language that is responsible for supplying the 'movement' of the narrative beyond the static representation of the artwork. This credits language with having, quite literally, the final word not just on what is represented in the image but the place of that representation within a larger narrative. Here Heffernan's argument for an oppositional relationship between text and image echoes Michel Foucault, who in *Ceci n'est pas une pipe* writes about the competition for dominance between text and image on the printed page:

In one way or another, subordination is required. Either the text is ruled by the image (...); or else the image is ruled by the text (...). True, the subordination remains stable only very rarely. What happens to the text of the book is that it becomes merely a commentary on the image, and the linear channel, through words, of its simultaneous forms; and what happens to the picture is that it is dominated by a text, all of whose significations it figuratively illustrates. But no matter the meaning of the subordination or the manner in which it prolongs, multiplies, and reverses itself. What is essential is that verbal signs and visual representations are never given at once. An order always hierarchizes them, running from the figure to discourse or from discourse to the figure.⁵⁴

Heffernan agrees with Foucault in terms of the competition between text and image for dominance but he appears to go one step further in his suggestion that text is superior in setting free the narrative impulse that is contained within graphic art.

⁵¹ Ibid, p.301.

⁵² Ibid, p.301.

⁵³ Ibid, p.302.

⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, *This is Not a Pipe*, James Harkness (ed. and trans.), (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1983) pp.32-33.

This ‘...irresolvable conflict between graphic stasis and narrative movement’ would seem to credit the narrative power of language to trump the stasis of graphic representation.⁵⁵ This assumes too much by suggesting that all graphic art contains this narrative impulse, that the writer is the figure with interpretive agency, tasked with determining the narrative, and that text has the ability to adequately explain this narrative impulse. Heffernan attempts to make value judgments on the visual alongside the verbal by using criteria associated primarily with the verbal. Naturally, the visual is found wanting.

The idea of perpetual conflict between the two forms of representation that Heffernan posits is one of the key factors to differentiate it from Harrow’s interpretation of *ekphrasis*, as discussed below.⁵⁶ Rounding out Heffernan’s definition of the inherent representational and oppositional aspects of *ekphrasis* is his view that any discussion on *ekphrasis* must include both prosopopoeia and reference to picture titles.⁵⁷ Picture titles, he argues, should be included within his theory of *ekphrasis* because any writing relating directly to the representational aspect of a work of art should be considered *ekphrastic*: ‘...a picture title is a verbal representation of the picture’.⁵⁸ This line of argument also allows Heffernan not only to include picture titles but also art criticism more generally: ‘If a truly comprehensive theory of *ekphrasis* must make some room for picture titles, as I have been arguing, it must also open itself up to the vast body of writing about pictures which is commonly known as art criticism.’⁵⁹ Heffernan’s argument here clears the way for *ekphrastic* principles to be applied to art writing more generally while also betraying the tendency of traditional *ekphrasis* to limit the verbal analysis of art to ‘pictures’, something which is challenged in new *ekphrastic* writing.

For now, at least, Heffernan contents himself with examining the classical application of *ekphrasis*: poetry. Specifically, he focuses on two works of the poets Keats and Shelley. His lengthy interpretation of the poems themselves is of limited interest for consideration of the exhibition catalogue, but there are one or two

⁵⁵ Heffernan 1991, p.303.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.303.

⁵⁷ Prosopopoeia, Heffernan explains, is the act of the writer lending a narrative voice to a silent object. He uses the example of sepulchral epigrams or funerary urns. *Ibid*. p.302.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.303.

⁵⁹ Indeed, Heffernan continues: ‘Had I world enough and space, I think I could show that art criticism deserves a place in the genre of *ekphrasis* as a whole.’ *Ibid*. p.304. It is in this same vein that I will examine examples of exhibition catalogues through an *ekphrastic* prism, as detailed in Section III of this chapter.

points that speak to the potential application of *ekphrasis* and its effects. After an extensive exploration of the prosopopoeial and narrative elements of the Keats poem, he pauses to reiterate that *ekphrasis* must do more than simply recount, in verbal form, what can be seen in the image, it must go further by carrying the narrative forward:

I have ventured this far into Keats's ode only to suggest what we may learn by reading it as a specimen of *ekphrasis*, which typically represents the arrested moment of graphic art not by re-creating its fixity in words but rather by releasing its embryonically narrative impulse.⁶⁰

Heffernan attempts to demonstrate that writing possesses abilities not available to the image and argues that the ability to critique the very basis of representation is one of them. Emphasising this critical potential of *ekphrasis*, Heffernan again warns against mistaking *ekphrasis* for mere description:

We have overlooked this potential because, I think, we have too often *uncritically* accepted Lessing's view of *ekphrasis* as the mere replication of graphic art, an act of homage demeaning to the freedom and intellectual dignity of literature.⁶¹

Heffernan argues that all *ekphrasis* 'latently' reveals its oppositional nature, the desire to '...displace graphic representation with verbal representation.'⁶² But while text and image are set in an antagonistic relationship, it is one, he suggests, that in terms of their representational power, is never fully resolved: 'Neither verbal narrative nor graphic stasis can fully represent being; neither words nor sculpture can make absolute claims to permanence, stability or truth.'⁶³ Heffernan demonstrates here the philosophical foundation of traditional *ekphrasis* and thus betrays a deficiency of this form of *ekphrastic* writing in its approach to non-representational art.

Traditional *ekphrasis* assumes a level of impasse between the verbal and the visual, with neither fully successful in terms of representational authority. This wrongly assumes that all works of art and literature are predominantly concerned with narrative and the politics of representation and attempts to apply to the visual

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.309.

⁶¹ Ibid, p.309.

⁶² Ibid, p.311.

⁶³ Ibid, p.312.

a criterion of value primarily concerned with the verbal. The response of traditional *ekphrasis* to this perceived impasse is that if this relationship between text and image can never be fully balanced, then one form of representation must have authority over another. With Heffernan's emphasis on the power of the narrative impulse, text is granted the role of the dominant partner and image the more submissive. This comes about from the perceived reliance of the image on language to apply a narrative function that the image alone restricts. In other words, in Heffernan's view of *ekphrasis*, it is the role of the text to explain the artwork to the reader and in doing so, remove any difficulty in their understanding of the visual. Its explanatory function imbues the image with a narrative and given that the text is responsible for providing this narrative, it has, quite literally, the final word on the meaning of the work. This view gives the text hegemonic status in terms of deciphering the meaning of a work of art. It is this sense of the hegemonic and the oppositional within *ekphrasis* that forms the setting off point for Harrow's discussion of a more questioning, heuristic, new *ekphrasis*.

Heffernan's definition of *ekphrasis* demonstrates an over-reliance on judging visual works using linguistic terms but provides a theoretical foundation on which to build, leaving the way open for *ekphrasis* to be taken from its historical context and challenged or adapted to suit writing on modern and contemporary art. Harrow demonstrates one way in which this can be done in her essay 'Modernist *Ekphrasis* and the *texte-atelier* of Francis Ponge' where she uses the example of Ponge's *L'Atelier contemporain* to begin an exploration of new *ekphrastic* writing. In this essay she explains her theory of 'modernist *ekphrasis*' as it exists in relation to traditional *ekphrasis*.⁶⁴ Like Heffernan, in this particular essay Harrow continues to focus on *ekphrasis* in relation to poetry. When examining some of her other writing, however, it is apparent that she echoes Heffernan's sentiments on making a case for other forms of art writing to be considered *ekphrastic*. In her essay on Ponge, Harrow first sets out the definition and limits of what she terms 'traditional *ekphrasis*' which is the now-familiar description of an approach to text-image relations that is largely oppositional:

⁶⁴ As will become apparent, while Harrow uses the term 'Modernist *ekphrasis*' to refer specifically to the work of Ponge, she uses wider terms in her other writing, as shall be detailed later. For the time being, to remain faithful to her original intentions in this essay I will use the term 'modernist *ekphrasis*' before going into more detail on the implications of such terms at the end of this section.

Traditional *ekphrasis* implies (and endorses) specific relations of power, space and time between artists, writers and readers (who are themselves also viewers of real and remembered or imagined artworks), and the creative works produced (be they visual or textual media). Traditional *ekphrasis* may be summed up, first, as the attempted verbal appropriation and redeployment of the visual.⁶⁵

This notion of the verbal appropriating the visual is one that Harrow is keen to stress. She argues that if the traditional *ekphrastic* relationship is based on conflict it can also be understood in the language and context of 'rhetorical imperialism where the visual image is appropriated and colonised, subordinated and mastered.'⁶⁶ Rather than a struggle for mastery between text and image as equal partners, Harrow reads traditional *ekphrasis* as implying the dominance of the text over the image. She completes her assessment of traditional *ekphrasis* by dealing with what Heffernan referred to as the 'narrative thrust' that text applies to the 'static image'. Harrow characterises this, not in terms of being confrontational, but as being paternalistic:

Where the conflict trope is less overt and the paragonal takes a paternalist turn, the image is perceived to be *supported* or *assisted* by words. The traditional *raison d'être* of *ekphrasis* is to speak *on* art and to speak *for* art. That is, to put into words what the work of art is deemed unable to utter for and by itself.⁶⁷

Harrow correctly identifies and challenges the role of traditional *ekphrasis* in its implication of linguistic superiority over the visual. What she details in her essay on Ponge is an *ekphrastic* approach that does not assume the dominance of one art form over another and that is more questioning and heuristic. Ponge's 'modernist *ekphrasis*' is a rejection of traditional *ekphrastic* principles. He sets out in his writing to challenge the assumed hierarchy that places the linguistic over the visual and, 'to counter *ekphrastic* determinism with writerly suppleness, with the search for a creative method of writing *around* art.'⁶⁸ Harrow characterises Ponge's *ekphrastic* writing as 'pliant, indeterminate, speculative' and that his text 'poses

⁶⁵ Susan Harrow, 'Modernist Ekphrasis and the texte-atelier of Francis Ponge', in Kathryn Brown (ed.), *The Art Book Tradition in Twentieth-Century Europe*, (Farnham,, 2013), p.168.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p.168.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.168.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*,p.169.

more questions than it answers.’⁶⁹ These features of Ponge’s text noted by Harrow appear again in her exploration of new *ekphrastic* writing more generally.

Pertinent to a consideration of Zwirner’s *ekphrasis* series, as well as the exhibition catalogue more generally, is Harrow’s suggestion that the gallery space is one that is traditionally held to be a prime site for *ekphrastic* engagement: ‘The *terrain d’élection* of *ekphrasis*, and its primary *social* space, is the museum or exhibition space. The museum is the established place of art, and, in our culture, the site of art’s establishment.’⁷⁰ Indeed, she returns to a reading of Heffernan’s work when pointing out that *ekphrasis* already plays a role within the museum and gallery structure in terms of how visitors to an exhibition respond to the visual works on display:

Beyond the canon of literature, Heffernan highlights the verbal fetishizing which the isolated artwork triggers in the museum visitor: the viewer of art objects is invariably also a reader in search of *textual* guidance (sourced, on-site, in indications of titles, information sheets, catalogues, guide books, audio guides, and museum bookshop offerings). The unsettling encounter with pictures is channelled, thus, into a tranquilizing experience of guided reading.⁷¹

Harrow’s reading of Heffernan demonstrates the potential weaknesses within traditional *ekphrasis*, where the reader is ‘guided’ by text to an understanding of the graphic work on display. This guidance suggests a hierarchical relationship between the author and reader that is over-reliant on the narrative as delivered by the author. By characterising the effect of traditional *ekphrastic* writing on the reader as ‘tranquilizing’, Harrow challenges the perceived desire of traditional *ekphrasis* to offer a single, stabilising interpretation, just as Lee argued that art must be seen ‘at several goes’ and was subject to a variety of outside influences that effected the viewer’s experience of a work from one day to the next. Included in the sources of *ekphrastic* writing within the museum and gallery experience, alongside picture titles, is the exhibition catalogue. Thus, by challenging the ‘tranquilizing’ experience of traditional *ekphrasis*, Harrow draws attention to the potential limitations of this form of *ekphrastic* writing within the catalogue.

Harrow establishes that heretofore the exhibition catalogue had been a site of traditional *ekphrasis* within the gallery and so also suggests that the catalogue is

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.169.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.169.

⁷¹ Ibid, p.169.

as ripe for new *ekphrastic* engagement as any other *ekphrastic* medium. Writing in a special edition of the journal *French Studies* titled 'New *Ekphrastic* Poetics', Harrow outlines the widening scope of new *ekphrastic* studies which now includes 'art writing, the literary essay, painting, sketches, print, photography, the book as visual object, prose writing that tilts towards poetry, and poetry that contours itself in prose.'⁷² Not only does Harrow seek to expand the scope of what classifications of writing should fall under the definition of *ekphrasis*, she also expounds the desire 'to develop the *ekphrastic* beyond traditional assumptions of linear influence, mimetic translation, and textual incorporation; [...] not of rival arts but of reciprocal visual and textual cultures.'⁷³ As made clear in her essay on Ponge, Harrow means to challenge the traditional *ekphrastic* practice of writing *on* art which she judges to be 'a top-down suggestion that implies that the battle for mastery is already won (by the writer).'74 The priority of new *ekphrastic* writing is to ask questions, pose theories and to replace the idea of text and image relating to each other in a state of perpetual conflict. Another challenge for new *ekphrasis* is to broach subjects that traditional *ekphrasis* often avoids. A point that Harrow highlights which is of particular interest, given some of the examples of catalogues explored in the following section of this chapter, is that traditional *ekphrasis* rarely engages with non-figurative art.⁷⁵ New *ekphrasis*, she argues, is ideally situated to engage with 'the shape-shifting experience of confronting abstract, nonfigural, or counter-mimetic art.'⁷⁶ Harrow ends the essay by suggesting that new *ekphrastic* writing ought to unsettle, challenge and 'complexify' assumptions about what *ekphrasis* can do.⁷⁷ In a neat summary of the challenge of new *ekphrasis* to the traditional, Harrow questions what might occur in *ekphrastic* writing when the 'hegemonic message is displaced by the heuristic medium.'⁷⁸

When considering traditional and new *ekphrasis* together, the deficiencies of the former theoretical approach become apparent. Following Heffernan's definition with Harrow's, it becomes clear that traditional *ekphrasis* works on the assumption that it is the role of language to imbue the visual with a singular, coherent narrative. This is problematic as authorial agency co-opts both the

⁷² Susan Harrow, 'New Ekphrastic Poetics', *French Studies: A Quarterly Review*, vol. 64, no. 3, (July 2010), p.257.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p.257.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.259.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p.260.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.263.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p.264.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.264.

original intention of the artist and the interpretive agency of the reader. It suggests that all visual works are equally subject to this verbal appropriation, regardless of the artist's desire to eschew a linear, representational narrative. Heffernan presents traditional *ekphrasis* as a form of writing that deals with art in a manner that seeks to imbue a specific narrative and context in order to effectively open up the meaning of visual works to a wider audience. When considered alongside new *ekphrastic* writing, however, it is clear that this approach is also prescriptive in that it makes explicit to the reader what they should think or feel in regard to a certain image. This prioritises the role of the author over the reader and implies a singular narrative that must be accepted by the reader in order to discern any meaning within the visual work. New *ekphrastic* writing, in contrast, seeks to form a more nuanced and questioning approach to the art it reflects. Harrow's account makes plain that traditional *ekphrasis* is too often a means of imposing a style of writing on a visual work irrespective of the representational power of the work itself. It is writing over art, not writing as a response to art.

Given that Heffernan and Harrow's accounts deal with the terms classical, modern and postmodern *ekphrasis* as well as 'traditional' and 'new' *ekphrasis*, it is useful to pause for a moment to reappraise the terms in order to ensure that they are deployed to maximum advantage. Heffernan attempts to draw a clear line between classical and postmodern *ekphrasis* by uniting them under the banner of the oppositional relationship between text and image that ultimately will see text adopt a position of primacy in its ability to impose a narrative and context to a graphic work. For the purposes of this chapter, the Heffernan argument for this more hegemonic style of *ekphrasis* will be known as 'traditional *ekphrasis*'. Harrow counters Heffernan's definition of *ekphrasis* with her own exploration of the term, which turns up writing on art that is more heuristic and less prescriptive or dogmatic about meaning or narrative. Again, for the purposes of this chapter, this more heuristic approach will be referred to as 'new *ekphrasis*', a deliberately broad term given that it must encompass a wide variety of linguistic styles. Thus there exists a clear delineation between the traditional and the new; the hegemonic and the heuristic. In the following section, examples of exhibition catalogues will be discussed in terms of how their writing exemplifies traditional and new *ekphrasis* and the implications of this for the reader. Traditional *ekphrasis* makes meaning obvious but is also dogmatic in terms of how a work of visual art should be understood. New *ekphrasis*, which adopts a more questioning approach, engages with a visual work in a way that may be just as hard for the reader to decipher as

the visual work itself but which, nevertheless, opens up debate on the meaning of both the textual and visual. Both approaches then have their deficiencies but traditional *ekphrasis* is more restrictive than new *ekphrastic* writing. While both offer a 'leading in' to investigating how the reader is able to understand, and thus expand the scope for discussion on, an artist and their work, new *ekphrastic* writing is more successful in escaping a stifling, singular means of interpretation, instead generating multiple narratives. This suggests that, in the relationship between the artist, the author and the public, interpretive agency has been removed from the authorial role and given to the reader. It is clear that, while traditional *ekphrasis* has much to offer in terms of understanding the relationship between language and the visual, it is in new *ekphrastic* writing that publications offer more scope to challenge the visual works on display. The purpose of using *ekphrasis* as a theoretical setting-off point and of applying it to the catalogue is to discover the function of the contemporary catalogue as a means of mediating, via text, the relationship between the artist's work and the reader as viewer.

III: *Ekphrasis* and the contemporary catalogue: mapping out a discursive space

Ekphrasis, as detailed above, is primarily concerned with what Foucault described as the 'infinite relation' between what we see and what we say, or rather what we see and how we describe, linguistically, what we have seen.⁷⁹ In his *ekphrastic* reading of Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (1656, Museo del Prado), Foucault admits that 'it is in vain that we say what we see; what we see never resides in what we say.'⁸⁰ Thus Foucault argues that the 'infinite relationship' between the visual and the verbal is one that is irresolvable yet as his own attempts to do so despite this assertion would demonstrate, it is also unavoidable. The exhibition catalogue is at the fore of mediating this 'infinite relationship' given its primary task of representing both visually and linguistically in printed form works of art that are or have been exhibited. The relation of text and image on the pages of the catalogue mirrors the larger relationship between the language used by the writer to approach their graphic subject and the subject itself. The debate over supremacy between the graphic and the linguistic is played out, in microcosm, within the catalogue itself. It is within this context of the infinite relationship between art and language that the catalogue is produced.

By examining selected examples of the recent publishing output of international commercial galleries, it is possible to see how these publications mediate this relationship and thereby determine what is the current state of play in this 'infinite relationship' within the catalogue. Examples have been selected from the galleries Gagosian, Hauser & Wirth and White Cube given that they are three of the largest and most commercially successful galleries currently operating across Europe, Asia and the Americas. The writers who have contributed text to these catalogues have adopted various rhetorical strategies when dealing with their chosen artists, thereby revealing much about the artist's subject matter, the artist's practice and the nature of linguistic representation of visual art. Most importantly, the rhetorical strategies employed in the catalogue also reveal what the gallerist as publisher wishes to convey about the artists that they represent.

The publications detailed below are selected in order to explore a variety of text-image relations and determine the contemporary catalogue's efficacy as a

⁷⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, (New York: Random House, 1970), p.9

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p.9.

discursive site. Each set of publications from all three galleries, together provide a wide array of rhetorical approaches to visual representation. The publications of Gagosian allow an exploration of different rhetorical approaches to exhibitions featuring work in one specific medium (Richter's tapestries) and to a variety of media, including graphic work that incorporates text (Emin). The publications of White Cube demonstrate the rhetorical approach to one artist's work across a period of more than a decade (Gary Hume). The first of Hume's catalogues, dating from 2002, corresponds to the date of the *October* round table discussion discussed above. The Hauser & Wirth publications will offer an exploration of the rhetorical approaches to dealing with two veteran artists, published by one gallery in the same year (Phyllida Barlow and Louise Bourgeois). These catalogues feature interviews and texts by the artists in question alongside essays by noted curators and academics as well as other forms of writing.

An example of a catalogue displaying a traditional *ekphrastic* approach to the 'infinite relationship', is *Gerhard Richter: Tapestries* 2013, published by Gagosian (figs.6-7). Italian curator and writer, Francesco Bonami, opens his essay 'The Accidental Healer' with the words 'When I first heard Gerhard Richter was making tapestries I wondered if he was perhaps entering on a path toward banality.'⁸¹ The striking opening sentence serves to anticipate the potential reaction of the reader upon hearing the same thing. It also provides an immediate reference to Richter's act of making the tapestries, thus providing a narrative that naturally predates the finished works in the gallery. The rhetorical approach of the author is made more apparent when he continues:

Tapestry! That's elegant – and elegance has been something Richter has been able to escape his entire career. But once I saw what Richter had produced, my concerns evaporated. Sure, his tapestries *were* elegant, but they were masterful, the elegance of a Schoenberg quartet.⁸²

By directly referring to his observation of the work and his impressions upon viewing it, he is placing himself in the same position of the reader as a viewer of the exhibition. Bonami thus has created a rhetorical construct where he, as author, first anticipates the potential reaction of the reader in his opening statement and now

⁸¹ Francesco Bonami, 'The Accidental Healer', *Gerhard Richter: Tapestries*, exh. cat., (London: Gagosian, 2013), p.9

⁸² *Ibid*, p.9.

gives the appearance of guiding the reader to reach the same conclusion as he. Bonami's approach is an example of the discursive limitations of traditional *ekphrastic* writing, whereby the implication is that an artwork can be explained to the reader by promoting a singular narrative and that the reader is overtly 'guided' to this conclusion by the author.

It is clear even from the opening of this essay that, in the hierarchy implied by traditional *ekphrasis*, the author adopts a paternalistic position of dominance over the reader. He has also set the basis on which to judge Richter's works by effectively removing them from comparisons with other tapestries and instead likening them to a Schoenberg quartet. Again, this form of traditional *ekphrastic* writing recalls the fact that, linguistically, the writer can alter the criteria of comparison in a way that the visual cannot do. The work itself does not directly reference a piece of music; only through the intercession of the writer can this line of comparison be drawn. He then makes a direct comparison between the works as visual pieces and text, likening the richness of the tapestries to the work of James Joyce: 'It is a noisy richness that creates the visual equivalent of deafness'.⁸³ He returns to comparisons with aural works by comparing the tapestries to the work of John Cage:

The reverberating structures of the four Richter tapestries indeed remind me of John Cage's composition *Roaratorio* (1979), a musical work of staggering complexity that involves multiple elements acting in tandem to realize the soundscape of Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* (1939). ... If one imagines a sound track to accompany Richter's work, *Roaratorio* would be ideal.⁸⁴

The clear implication here is that the tapestries are works of similarly 'staggering' complexity. Again, Bonami deliberately structures his essay in a manner that the reader is guided to the same value judgements of the tapestries as those held by the author. The experience of viewing the tapestries, Bonami assures the reader, is akin to 'a kind of supernatural or paranormal experience analogous to something out of Stanley Kubrick's *The Shining*'.⁸⁵

The essay is conspicuous for its repeated comparisons of the visual works with other forms of media. The author's purpose in so doing is more clearly discerned when noticing that the essay is juxtaposed with actual-size

⁸³ Ibid, p.9.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.10.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.11.

reproductions of detailed sections of the tapestries. The reader is therefore presented with a wall of abstract shapes in jarring colours. This draws the eye to the intricate detail in each tapestry while also reminding the reader that these are fabric pieces that resemble paintings only from a distance. The essay, placed beside these images, is a means of imposing a level of narrative meaning to the works that may not otherwise be discerned. This again, places the essay in the realm of traditional *ekphrasis* whereby the reader's confrontation with an abstract work of visual art is mediated and controlled by a carefully structured essay designed to elicit the presence of the author as a guide. Bonami's colourful prose and references to music, literature and film mimic the frenetic colours and shapes of the tapestries as displayed within the catalogue while also imposing his authorial control.

The rhetorical structure of this essay presents the author as a maven, overriding any potential 'difficult' aspects of the works. The essay offers the reader a basis on which the abstract work can be better understood by providing more familiar points of reference on which the reader can base their opinions. It also, however, directs the reader's understanding of the work from the moment the essay begins and provides them with a means of judging the success of the work that does not brook an alternative approach. This is an example of guided discourse that attempts to impose a singular narrative on a series of abstract works. The writer has created a rhetorical construct that demonstrates the ability of traditionally *ekphrastic* writing to make appeals to other media that the visual cannot. While of course text can never reproduce the music to which it refers, it can take an emotive reaction to the visual and make it explicit within the verbal. In doing so, Richter's work is presented to the reader in linguistic terms that they can appreciate, ensuring that any inability to discern narrative meaning in the works themselves, is assuaged by the accompanying text. Bonami's effusive praise and flattery of Richter's work in this catalogue is considered, not as an example of objective critique, as espoused by Krauss and her fellow *October* critics, but as an example of traditional *ekphrasis*. By reading it as such, one can determine that this publication offers the reader a means of interpreting a work of abstract visual art by appealing to alternative art forms and applying a clear, accessible narrative. The drawback of the catalogue, as with traditional *ekphrasis* more generally, is that it implies there is only one means of interpreting the works displayed and that the primary interpretive role is the author's, not the reader's. Thus, in terms of expanding the discourse around Richter, this catalogue only goes so far, taking the

reader to a certain point of understanding but at the expense of arresting the development of other strands of interpretation.

Conversely, a prime example of a non-traditional *ekphrastic* approach is the catalogue published on the occasion of Gary Hume's solo exhibition at White Cube in 2002. The catalogue itself resembles a compact, portable version of his painting *Yellow Window* (2002), a representation of a yellow window frame with blacked-out panes, similar in appearance to Marcel Duchamp's *Fresh Widow* 1920 (fig.8). This visual mimesis between the catalogue and the work displayed means that the reader appears to, effectively, look inside the painting for information about it and the others exhibited. When the reader does look inside, however, they may be disappointed to discover that written information about the works is not forthcoming. There are colour reproductions of each of the thirty paintings on display, all in a high gloss finish in keeping with Hume's signature painting style, and each reproduction has a caption with the title and date of the painting. The catalogue essay and notes on individual paintings have converged in the form of Angus Cook's introduction, titled '2002 Words'. The title of the introduction is an indication also of the word count, and both are a reference to the date of the exhibition. The title also has an endnote, which reads 'including this title and excluding this endnote. Magic.'⁸⁶ The introduction is arranged in twenty-six paragraphs, each corresponding to a letter of the alphabet and an alliterative word, with the title of one of Hume's paintings in parentheses. For example:

Uu is for Ugly {Yellow Window}
Whether it's things most people associate with beauty – flowers; top models; babies – or things only some do – you name it – there's something uncompromising about the full-on innocence. A vacancy. Which makes the problematic beauty all the more urgent and engaging. Perhaps because ornament is a crime, after all?⁸⁷

Another entry, for the letter Q, 'Qq is for Queer {Peonies}', is comprised entirely of quotes from Henri Matisse, Gary Hume and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick.⁸⁸ With thirty paintings and twenty-six paragraphs, naturally some works have no note attributed to them at all. The importance has been placed on arbitrarily attaching each painting to a letter of the alphabet, with no apparent bearing on which or why. The word-count has similarly been tailored to fit a criterion that has no bearing

⁸⁶ Angus Cook, *Gary Hume*, exh. cat., (London: White Cube, 2002), p.11.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p.10.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.9.

whatsoever on the content of the essay. While on the surface, the writing appears to correspond to tenets of linguistic and numerical logic by following the alphabet and abiding by a strict word-count, it instead becomes apparent that these rules highlight the ridiculousness of the task of writing when attempting to represent the visual. The overriding message here is that, in following these self-imposed rules, the writer is slave to a linguistic logic that the artist is not.

This catalogue is, in many ways, the epitome of a new *ekphrastic* text in that there is little to no attempt in the writing to either imbue the visual works with a prescribed narrative, nor is there the sense that the text is necessary to supplement the artwork in order to make its meaning plain. Those paragraphs that do, at some point, refer to their attributed painting, do so obliquely. There is no attempt by the author to transmit to the reader anything about a painting's message or indeed to tell them much more factually than they could learn from looking at the paintings themselves. Those who look to this catalogue for clear answers will be left wanting. On the contrary, the writing here seems to fit the new *ekphrastic* model of writing *with* rather than *on* art. The artist's works are complemented rather than supported by the collection of twenty-six paragraphs as each paragraph is poetic and linguistically interesting but relates to the artwork only tangentially, if at all. Moreover, it seems to challenge the assumption of those who turned to it for an easily digestible narrative. Beneath the veneer of orderliness, what the reader is presented with is counter-intuitive, poetic and deliberately absurd. Taken as an example of new *ekphrastic* writing, the catalogue questions the ability of language to represent the visual work on display. This also questions the notion of the author having sole interpretive responsibility and instead challenges the reader to encounter and interpret the visual on their own terms. This transference of interpretive agency from the author to the reader is a new *ekphrastic* trope that affirms the expansion and de-privileging of critical debate and dialogue around an artist and their work.

Returning to White Cube and to Gary Hume, over a decade later, it is apparent that this catalogue is no aberration but, rather, reflects a concerted effort of the gallerist to pursue a rhetorical approach in their exhibition catalogue that is appropriate for the artist and artwork on display. In the catalogue *Lions and Unicorns & Night Time* 2014, published to accompany the Gary Hume exhibition 'Lions and Unicorns' at White Cube São Paulo in 2014, again the traditional essay on the artist and his work is eschewed (fig.9). The only written pieces in the catalogue are a facsimile of a hand-written poem 'Lois in the Sunny Tree' by poet

Mark Halliday and an untitled short story by Claire Frankland. Both written works deal with the idea of loss, time and human relationships and while both relate to the works on display, they do so indirectly. There is, however, a closer connection between the texts included in the catalogue and the works on display than in the previous Hume catalogue. The poem 'Lois in the Sunny Tree' references the poet looking at a photograph of a relative, Lois, taken in 1920 when she was seven years old and who now is long dead. It imagines the happiness that she may have derived from knowing that he would be looking into her face so many years later. The poem, in its original format, follows the route of traditional *ekphrasis* by imbuing the photograph with a narrative aspect that is not immediately apparent:

When in August 1920 I smiled for the camera
from my perch on the limb of a sun-spangled tree,
says Lois, long dead now but humorously seven years old then,
with a giant ribbon in my hair, the sorrow of living in time
was only very tiny and remote in some far corner of my mind

and for me to know then, as I smiled for that camera
in Michigan in the summer of 1920
that you would peer thoughtfully and admiringly
into my happy photographed eyes eighty-some years later
would have been good for me only in a very tiny and remote way.⁸⁹

The poem's *ekphrastic* engagement with the photograph of Lois is based on the narrative thrust that takes the reader into the past and the future, while the image itself remains static. What is more interesting, however, in terms of the catalogue as a whole, is that this poem appears immediately before a series of found black and white photographs of children from the 1960s, used by the artist in his practice. This editorial decision implies a narrative link between the poem and the photographs, lending them some of the narrative power of the poem. The relationship between the memories and emotions evoked by the poem and the artist's works is an indirect one. The fact that a link is implied rather than more explicitly suggested is another example of new *ekphrastic* engagement where writing is used to complement the imagery, not supplant it. The rhetorical effect here is to suggest a multitude of voices and thus interpretations as opposed to a single critical stance. The reader understands the poem is not a direct commentary on the work but rather, a suggestion of an emotional state within which the work

⁸⁹ Mark Halliday, 'Lois in the Sunny Tree', *Thresherphobe*, (Chicago, 2013), p.3

should be approached and understood. This new *ekphrastic* trope frustrates the assumption that text must adopt a purely explanatory function in its relationship with the visual.

The short story by Claire Frankland explores the relationship between a married couple and their twelve-year-old child, flitting between the perspectives of each character as they reminisce about the past and their current relationship. As with Halliday's poem and the black and white photographs, the reader is left to draw connections between the short story and the artist's 'Mums and Dads' sculptures. The reader may also relate back to the aforementioned black and white photographs of children that were, presumably, taken by their parents. In this publication, the pieces of writing provide a written accompaniment to the visual works as displayed in the exhibition. This catalogue corresponds to the rhetorical structure of new *ekphrastic* writing whereby text makes no pretensions to authority over the visual. The text in this catalogue, in the form of poetry and prose, highlights the new *ekphrastic* argument that interpretive function can be approached in a non-adversarial way. By using language to suggest an emotional context to the reader, the catalogue then delivers interpretive authority to the reader, allowing them ultimately to draw their own conclusions. This is a deliberate editorial choice, the effect of which is to challenge the hegemony of text and thus the status of the writer as final arbiter of value judgements in relation to the visual work on display. There is no clearly defined evaluation of the artwork here, in its place there is a contribution of creative writing which seeks to expand upon the themes of the work itself thus adding a level of depth to the experience of a visitor to the exhibition without being overly prescriptive in terms of how they should understand the work. Instead, the publication is suggestive of a mood and emotional state within which to view the works themselves.

The notion that writing within the catalogue can be used to ground the work in a specific emotional context is also apparent in the Gagosian catalogue *You Left Me Breathing*, published on the occasion of the Tracey Emin exhibition at Gagosian Beverly Hills in 2007 (figs.10-11). The catalogue essay, 'Forget Me', by Jennifer Doyle, opens with the author receiving a text message saying simply 'I am thinking of you' which sets the tone for her highly personal musing on the nature of love, intimacy, sex and personal relationships, ending with her response 'Me too'.⁹⁰ This is a clear rhetorical construction of the author's, which allows her to evoke in

⁹⁰ Jennifer Doyle, 'Forget Me', *You Left Me Breathing*, (Los Angeles, 2007), p.1

language the themes explored in Emin's visual work. The essay, therefore, broaches the subject of the author's own thoughts and feelings on intimacy before introducing Emin, in the third paragraph. This means of constructing her essay, allows the author to position herself between Emin and the reader. The artist is introduced, not in relation to her work but in relation to a personal story the artist recounted in her newspaper column. The literary context in which the reader approaches Emin's work thus mirrors the reader's first encounter with the author. In the fourth paragraph, Doyle begins to turn her attention to Emin's artwork itself but again, only fleetingly:

The exhilaration of feeling oneself dissolve in "me too" is behind much of Emin's work, especially her writing, where, as an author, she unselfconsciously luxuriates in the warm bath of recollections like the above. In her visual art, however, we usually see that kind of intimacy from a distant shore, as a rosy paradise from which the artist has been expelled. Exiled in the land of objects – paintings, drawings, sculpture – Emin explores the more difficult sides of a romantic being – the domain in which things fall apart – when the champagne bubble of a thought, "I am thinking of you", turns into a leaden query, "What are you thinking?" she gives us access to the thorny margins of sexual experience – the exhaustion of one's own loneliness, the residual traces of sexual trauma on the body, the theatricality of falling in love, and, above all, the odd resilience that keeps us going, in spite of it all.⁹¹

The author's textual analysis of Emin's work is firmly grounded within the emotional context in which the work is produced. This essay has been deliberately constructed and presented as a sensitive accompaniment and response to this artist's work, entirely in keeping with Emin's own confessional, candid and often sexually explicit oeuvre. Like much new *ekphrastic* writing, this essay engages with its subject indirectly at first, and on an emotional level, before moving on to highlight specific visual works. When Doyle references individual pieces within the exhibition she invests them with a specific, personal narrative:

Thus sculptures like the seagull of *I could have really loved you* or the lone sparrow of *Roman Standard* address us as relics from a former intimacy's archive, gathered in the wake of the lover's departure in a kind of sentimental inventory.⁹²

⁹¹ Ibid, p.2

⁹² Ibid, p.2

Immediately following the essay is a series of installation shots of the works in the gallery. The first visual experience of the work for the reader of the catalogue is within the gallery context ensuring that, even long after the exhibition closes, it is in the context of the gallery display that the works will be remembered. The pieces are then photographically reproduced and arranged in separate categories; Paintings, Sculpture, Neons etc. The opening page of each category has a list of the works contained in that category, with each work numbered and titled. When looking ahead at the works the reader must then return to the opening page of each section to be given the title which, in regard to some of Emin's more abstract works, is instructive if the reader wishes to discern a narrative. Following Heffernan's judgement that picture titles are also examples of *ekphrasis*, the layout of the catalogue appears at first to frustrate this *ekphrastic* impulse but, importantly, also implies a sense of reliance in the reader; if they wish to gauge a narrative then they must literally turn away from the visual and back to the verbal.

There is the slightly jarring experience for the reader when they discover that certain of the picture titles don't match up with the text that is prominently featured in the visual work. Taking the example of one of Emin's embroideries, there are very subtle differences between the picture title as recorded in the caption and the embroidered text as reproduced in the photograph. The embroidered work *I Dream of Kissing You* 2007 actually features the text 'I dreamt I was kissing you'. There is a switch from the present to the past tense that can either be read as moving from 'dream' to 'dreamt' implying an ending of a romantic relationship or from 'dreamt' to 'dream' and the beginning of one. The salient point is that it is for the reader to decide how they wish to accept the transition from the work itself to the title as it appears on the page of the catalogue. While this may appear a minor detail, the gallery is careful to note that the discrepancies are deliberate and at the behest of the artist.⁹³ This is suggestive of the 'infinite relation' between text and image adopting the new *ekphrastic* structure of creating a dialogue between text and image that is more open and questioning in style. With the caption and the image presenting different takes on the same theme, the reader is left to determine a progression in the narrative that is not made overt in either the picture title or Doyle's essay. Again, the traditional *ekphrastic* role of the picture title relating directly to the narrative of the graphic work is frustrated. The title, in

⁹³ Printed on the colophon, alongside other information about the publication, is the statement: 'Any inconsistencies between the artwork captions and text on the artwork is intentional and has been made at the artist's request.'

effect, bears false witness to what is displayed highlighting the futility of a prescribed appropriation of the image by text.

Later in the catalogue, the reader is afforded a glimpse of the artist's own thoughts on her work and practice. Emin's writing takes the form of a reminiscence, in quasi-poetic prose. Dealing primarily with her emotional response to painting and recounting turbulent personal experiences, Emin's writing presents her artistic practice like a succession of vignettes. What the reader is exposed to is a series of short paragraphs that relate to the works on display, but only obliquely. In one telling paragraph she writes:

A fifty-year-old woman walks along the beach in Margate. She is my mum. She makes her way through the holidaymakers who are stretched out sunning themselves on the golden sands. She looks out to sea and then back to the shore, squinting at the brightly coloured neon that covers the Golden Mile. And there, in front of her, directly, below her, lying out on the sand, is a young man asleep, slightly handsome, a little rugged, his white body slowly turning red, and on his chest, rising from his sternum across his collarbones, is a tattoo of a Boeing 707. The fuselage trails up his neck.⁹⁴

References are made to imagery and objects such as the Boeing 707 that appear in the paintings, embroideries etc. as well as the 'neons' that form a whole section of the exhibition but it is left to the reader to make the connections between the text and the visual work on display. This is a now-familiar rhetorical structure of new *ekphrastic* writing, which transfers the interpretive power from the author to the reader. While the artist has been allowed to speak, hers is not an authoritative voice that has the final word on how works should be interpreted. Instead, she is suggestive, dropping hints and opening up about emotional experiences that have coloured her artistic practice. The reader makes the connections and draws parallels between the events of Emin's personal life as detailed in her writing and the graphic works on display. Such an approach would perhaps not be classed as a 'serious essay' in that there is no overtly objective criticism of the work but it does not follow that this is discursively prohibitive. The *ekphrastic* writing here allows the reader to gain an insight into the artist's practice and to draw their own conclusions. Taken as an example of new *ekphrasis*, Emin's writing challenges the notion of the single, authorial voice, suggesting that in terms of representation, it is

⁹⁴ Tracey Emin, 'You Left Me Breathing', *You Left Me Breathing*, (Los Angeles, 2007) unnumbered.

less critically valid than a multitude of contrasting opinions. Even as Doyle's essay is constructed as a means of steering the reader to their conclusions about Emin's work, the artist presents a more questioning, multi-layered approach to interpretation. Emin makes appeals to memory and emotion in her writing and, in doing so, highlights the unreliability of even the artist to speak with any sense of finality and exactitude. Ultimately, the reader must return to the visual work on display aided, but not dictated to, by the text in the catalogue. Emin's approach fits well within the style of new *ekphrasis*, which delivers a critique of text's ability to adequately represent the graphic and so instead seeks simply to accompany it, transferring the interpretive power to the reader.

Turning to the publishing output of Hauser & Wirth, two exhibition catalogues of 2014 will be considered in succession to further demonstrate the contrasting ekphrastic approaches and their effects. The most obvious point to note about the Hauser & Wirth catalogue *Phyllida Barlow: Fifty Years of Drawings* 2014 is that its scale and weight suggests that it is not intended to be taken and read within the exhibition space itself (fig.12). This implied distance between the exhibited works and the catalogue text does not interrupt a traditionally *ekphrastic* reading given the photographic reproductions of the works within the catalogue. While it is these photographic reproductions of the works that consume the vast majority of space in the publication, the two hundred pages of images are sandwiched between two pieces of text: an introductory essay and an interview with the artist. Stylistically, text is given both the first and last word on interpreting the visual works on display. This is indicative of the traditionally *ekphrastic* approach adopted in the essay by Sara Harrison, which the reader encounters first. In this essay, Harrison frames a reading of Barlow's work and establishes a clear basis for judging the importance of the works displayed by prioritising their relation to Barlow's more recognisable practice as a sculptor. The value of the drawings is heightened, Harrison writes, given the destruction of much of Barlow's sculptural work over the years:

What survives from the last decades is a rich archive of drawings dating back to the 1960s. These provide the artist's own account of the missing sculptures. Moreover they are an integral part of her artistic output: works in their own right.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Sara Harrison, *Phyllida Barlow: Fifty Years of Drawings* (London, 2014), p.7

Harrison continues to emphasise the connection between the drawings and Barlow's more famous sculptural works: 'Drawing is not a parallel or peripheral pursuit, but is at the very heart of Barlow's practice as a sculptor.'⁹⁶ In doing so, Harrison makes explicit a connection between the two media that the drawings themselves could only ever imply. This rhetorical trope of traditional *ekphrasis*, suggests that the text supports and 'speaks' on behalf of the drawings to provide a context for their reception that is outwith their capacity as visual works. This rhetorical structure privileges the text and thus the authorial voice and reduces the interpretive function of the reader.

As well as the introductory essay by Harrison, there is also an interview with Phyllida Barlow by Hans Ulrich Obrist where the artist discusses the beginnings of her art education and sculptural practice. The very first statement the reader encounters is, perhaps unusually, from the artist and not the interviewer. On her early drawings, Barlow says:

If I think of the sixties, and I think of New British Sculpture, and I think of Pop Art and Abstract Expressionism and the rise of Duchamp, I see these drawings within that context.⁹⁷

Again, the writing here has been deliberately presented in such a manner as to evoke the traditionally *ekphrastic* principle that text can provide an insight that the visual cannot. This opening statement, like Harrison's essay, neatly sets out the context in which these works are to be viewed by the reader. In contrast with Emin's writing in the Gagosian catalogue, the artist's voice here is foregrounded as more authoritative in setting out the artistic terms in which her work is to be viewed. The editorial decision of including a transcript of an interview with the artist would appear to be the ultimate act of traditional *ekphrasis* where the images are imbued with a narrative by the text that they cannot make explicit themselves. Such is the case here, where Barlow's authorial voice acts as interpreter, delivering a sense of order to the series of abstract sketches. The interviewer, Obrist, acts as proxy for the reader, resulting in text that informs and applies a narrative to the drawings that would otherwise have remained unknown. Obrist's interview with Barlow does this even more overtly given that the catalogue includes a note informing the reader that Obrist and Barlow were looking through the images in

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.7.

⁹⁷ Phyllida Barlow, in conversation with Hans Ulrich Obrist. Ibid, p.217

question as the interview was taking place. While looking at the images, Barlow responds to Obrist's questions, thus infusing the images with the narrative context of their means of production and sources of inspiration. Barlow makes explicit what Emin only hinted at and thus the text informs the reader of facts rather than encourages them to make connections themselves.

Traditional *ekphrasis*, as demonstrated in this catalogue, advocates the imposition of a singular means of interpretation. The texts within are constructed in such a way as to apply the context in which the visual works are to be understood. By removing the interpretive function from the reader, this approach does not allow for multiple, overlapping or conflicting means of interpretation. The sense that the one correct means of interpretation is also one that lauds the ability of the artist leaves traditional *ekphrastic* works open to the charge levelled from Krauss and others, that these works have a commercial bias. The best challenge to the 'Krauss Critique' is through new *ekphrastic* writing, whereby no one means of interpretation is privileged over another and so a claim to a commercially-motivated bias is more difficult to make. This challenge succeeds in that while subjective writing in the catalogue may not hold the same critical rigour as the more academic essays of Krauss and her colleagues, it acts as an affirmation of the more widespread cultural significance of an artist and their work.

Another publication of Hauser & Wirth, published in the same year, subverts the traditional format and layout of the catalogue as evinced by the Barlow example above. The Hauser & Wirth catalogue *L'araignée et les tapisseries*, which accompanied the Louise Bourgeois solo exhibition at Hauser & Wirth Zurich in 2014, is presented in the form of a family photograph album (figs.13-14). The exhibition itself focussed on Bourgeois's tapestry works and spider sculptures particularly within the context of the artist's relationship with her mother. The publication, therefore, is deliberately constructed to present an account of these works in the form of a photograph album, ultimately being suggestive of an intimate Bourgeois family scrapbook. The catalogue is presented as a highly personalised book, interspersing old family photographs of the artist and her mother with reproductions of Bourgeois's spider and tapestry works as well as excerpts of Bourgeois's poetic writings. The book also notably contains a facsimile of a letter from the artist's mother dating from 1929, shortly after Bourgeois had left France for America. The letter is later also typed and translated into English demonstrating that the inclusion of the French-language facsimile is a clear editorial construction, designed to heighten the sense of intimacy between the

reader and the artist. The result being that the reader enjoys the voyeuristic notion of happening upon a private letter enclosed within the pages of a 'found' book. The letter itself is poignant considering the influence of the mother figure on Bourgeois's work throughout her long career. This appeal to poignancy is again a deliberate means of providing the reader with an insight into Bourgeois's personal and artistic influences without this insight being outlined or made explicit via an essay or interpretation by scholars or critics. By reproducing the artist's tapestry and sculptural works alongside personal documents, the publication is constructed to make a clear statement about the significance of the works while ostensibly allowing the readers themselves to make this connection.

When the reader does encounter the words of the artist, much the same as in the Emin catalogue, it is on a personal level where the artist's practice is dealt with in an emotional context:

But violence can be replaced by restoration. Fortunately, I come from a background where we repaired the damage on the tapestries and the idea of repairing has stayed with me. Things can be repaired. I do not quite believe in the Phoenix, that things die and resuscitate. I am rather areligious. But I have some faith in the symbolic action. Wanting to repair the past involves the experience of guilt, and guilt is present in all my work.⁹⁸

Bourgeois delivers an invaluable insight into her approach to her work while leaving it for the reader to make the connection between the artist's statement and the works displayed. The references to restoration, guilt and a sense of the past are directly relevant to the visual work in the exhibition but ultimately the reader is the one to make the link between the text in the catalogue and the exhibited work. This is a rhetorical trope of new *ekphrastic* writing, whereby the reliance on the reader appears accidental but is in fact a result of deliberate editorial decisions. The result of passing the interpretive function from the author to the reader reinforces the argument of new *ekphrasis* whereby meaning in visual works cannot be determined by the imposition of a singular narrative. Instead, the reader is challenged out of their 'tranquilized' guidance and afforded the ability to make connections themselves. Bourgeois's reference to her mother is a textual link back to the letter, which appears first as facsimile and then in print: 'My mother would sit out in the sun and repair a tapestry or a petit point. She really loved it. This

⁹⁸ Louise Bourgeois, *L'araignée et les tapisseries*, (Zurich, 2014), p.73

sense of reparation is very deep within me.’⁹⁹ There is a deliberate connection made between the two pieces of text that is, again, not explicitly explanatory of the works on display. It is for the reader to understand, through Bourgeois’s text, the implied importance of the letter and the reasons for its inclusion in the catalogue.

The other facsimile inserts within the catalogue, including mundane household items such as a receipt and a handwritten list, are interspersed with the Bourgeois family photographs and the photographs of the work displayed in the exhibition. This provides the reader with the task of separating the old from the new and the directly relevant from the tangential, no answers are given directly. The inclusion of such items also emphasises the false impression that this is a one-off piece, a personal belonging of the artist’s and that therein lies its great worth as an object. Unlike traditional *ekphrasis*, the Bourgeois catalogue does not make the narrative function of its text explicit. The artist’s work is discussed verbally only in general terms that allow for a variety of interpretations, with the level of focus placed on any one area left to the discretion of the reader. Following *ekphrastic* theory, one can determine that transferring the interpretive function from the author to the reader is part of a larger critique of language as a means of interpreting the visual. This catalogue removes the singular authorial voice and replaces it with multiple layers of interpretation, dependent on the reader’s level of engagement. The effect of this, as with the examples of new *ekphrastic* writing above, leaves the way open for further investigation and multiple readings of an artist’s work while partly insulating the catalogue against a charge of commercial bias.

Those catalogues dealt with here that favour a more traditionally *ekphrastic* approach are more directly informative about the artist and their practice but also prescriptive in terms of how that work ought to be seen. Those catalogues that experiment with new *ekphrastic* writing in various forms, including poetry, prose and correspondence, while apparently offering less concrete information on the artists in question, serve to mirror the reader’s experience of questioning the graphic work and instead offer possibilities for interpretation that are not made explicit through the text. As has been seen, the rhetorical structure of new *ekphrastic* writing within the exhibition catalogue leads to publications that complement and accompany the art on display rather than making an attempt to apply one distinct meaning on its behalf. They engage in a dialogue with the art and

⁹⁹ Ibid, p.74

offer potential connections between the writing in the catalogue and the work on display without making these connections explicit and thus shutting off other avenues of inquiry. What this suggests about the publishing strategy of the contemporary gallerist is a move towards shifting the role of criticism from the objective to the personal and subjective. Personal essays, accompanied by family photographs, facsimile letters and artist recollections and fragmented memories are all deliberately presented as a means to draw the reader closer to an artist and their work. While this is less prescriptive than the historicising essay, as a publishing strategy it nevertheless creates a construct in the publication of how one should approach an artist and their work and establishes criteria of critique based on personal feeling and empathy as opposed to historical importance or inherent financial value.

Conclusion

Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series is a rare example of the gallerist as publisher of texts on art, some produced by artists, which are not directly linked to the gallery's roster of represented artists. The promotion of these *ekphrastic* texts, therefore, offers the gallerist publisher a way to contribute to artistic discourse free from accusations of producing marketing tools or favourable coverage of an artist that stems from a financial bias. The quality of *ekphrastic* writing as a rhetorical device that Zwirner was drawn to, is its accessibility. This accessibility, in turn, is based on the subjective nature of *ekphrastic* writing that allows for a multitude of voices for a non-specialised audience. The notion of *ekphrasis* as widening access to art through writing is as true of the author as the reader. As Teju Cole highlighted when talking of his 'irrepressible subjectivity', *ekphrastic* writing allows for an acknowledgement of the outside experiences of the author and thus a de-privileging of the centrality of an assumed white, male experience. The first and last texts of the series so far particularly demonstrate Zwirner's rejection of the traditional form of catalogue essay in favour of more creative, personal approaches to writing on art. Gauguin's critique of the literati; Proust's reminder to the reader to take lightly the words of men of letters; and Lee's overt acknowledgement of the relativism of artistic experience, place the series within the realms of new *ekphrastic* theory, whereby the author does not attempt to claim primacy over the image in their text, but rather, use writing as a means to accompany, extend or question the role of visual art. The reader is drawn in and invited to share in this questioning by validating their own experiences and engagement with works of art. The reader is being spoken *to*, as opposed to being spoken *at*.

The examples of catalogues by Gagosian, Hauser & Wirth and White Cube over the last decade and a half, demonstrate a similar move within gallery publishing towards subjectivity in art writing. Though there is no uniform practice across these galleries' publishing output, there are nevertheless key examples of both traditional and new *ekphrastic* approaches. The diversity of approaches reveals the willingness of contemporary gallerist publishers to engage with wider, non-specialized audiences while providing texts that faithfully accompany the works on display within the catalogue. In texts such as Bonami's essay on Richter for Gagosian, there is still a strong sense that the reader is being guided to a specific critical response based on the author's interpretation of the work. This is not the case in the examples of Gary Hume's catalogues published by White Cube, where

the poetic responses to the work are provided as an accompaniment and extension to the art on display rather than a straight account of it. This is, of course, as much a rhetorical strategy as Bonami's essay but it demonstrates a willingness, of the publisher and author, to offer the reader a greater degree of interpretive agency. Such a shift towards more creative approaches to art writing also gives the artist another outlet within which to extend their practice. The contemporary gallery catalogue, therefore, rather than leading to a shrinking of artistic discourse, can instead offer the artist another space in which to experiment with text-image relations. Both Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series and the *ekphrastic* texts of the contemporary gallery catalogue demonstrate an approach to art writing that can be characterised as writing with art as opposed to either on, or for, art.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis presents a series of critical moments in the history of the gallerist as publisher and while the individual publications examined here represent a small fraction of their publishing activities in the twentieth century, they nevertheless offer invaluable insight into the development of this field of publishing. In my selection of case studies, I was careful to analyse examples that demonstrated the heterogeneous forms of publishing produced by gallerists; the *livre d'artiste*; the artists' novel; the magazine; the catalogue; and books of writing on art. Alongside these case studies, I have presented a broader narrative arc of the ways in which gallerists responded to, and took inspiration from, the wider context of art publishing at various moments across the twentieth century. Thus, the historical publishing contexts mapped out here include: Parisian print culture of the *fin-de-siècle*; Surrealist collaborative publishing practices; the gallery magazine in Europe; artists' magazines and the alternative press of New York in the 1960s; and writing on art within the contemporary exhibition catalogue. As each chapter progressed, despite the analytical shift in the form, content and contextualisation of the gallerist publication, a number of key themes emerged that serve to characterise the history of this field of publishing: publishing as self-promotion; publishing as innovation; publishing as collaboration; and publishing as democratisation. These themes linked the practices of gallerists from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day. It is apt, therefore, that the first text in David Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series was written by an artist represented by Ambroise Vollard.

The first theme to emerge was that of gallerist publishing as a means of self-promotion. The publication, as an object created to be disseminated beyond the gallery, is not only a testament to the skill of the artist or writer but is also inherently an advertisement of the skills of the publisher. Each of the publications discussed in this thesis, therefore, also act as a means of promoting the publisher as gallerist. Lucas Zwirner points out the fact that the quality of the book, from its content to its overall design, is a reflection on the editorial decisions of the publisher and so his desire to publish the finest art books under his father's name has obvious implications for the brand of the David Zwirner Gallery. Vollard knew this fact just as well when he spotted an opportunity to establish an eponymous publishing imprint. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler's publisher's mark operated as a means of associating the gallerist not only with finely illustrated *livres d'artiste*, but also with avant-garde poets whom he published for the first time alongside his

artists, binding himself and his gallery brand to the artists and movements he represented. This brand outlived the various upheavals and interruptions that marred Kahnweiler's life and career as a gallerist in Paris during periods of war, exile and Occupation. Like her contemporaries, Jeanne Bucher similarly tied her name and gallery to the Surrealist movement through her own publishing imprint. The gallerist's name adorned the pages of some of the finest Surrealist books published at the height of the movement's activities in Paris and, as is clear from her approach to sales of *Une semaine de bonté*, the publication also served to promote Bucher as both a gallerist and publisher among galleries and booksellers in London and New York. Her decision to promote her gallery exhibitions and books simultaneously, within the pages of contemporary magazines, demonstrated the interchangeable nature of her promotional role as gallerist and publisher.

Aimé Maeght's *Derrière le miroir* was one of a number of examples of the gallerist engaging with the form of the magazine in order to communicate the ethos and message of the gallery to a wider audience than could be achieved by an exhibition programme alone. For Maeght, the gallery brand was communicated through the distribution of high-quality original prints, produced from within the gallery's own printmakers. The gallery magazines of Iris Clert and Alfred Flechtheim, however, adopted a more deliberately satirical bent and represented the gallerists positioning themselves at the forefront of a new and challenging avant-garde. In each case, the magazine offered a continued promotional opportunity for gallerists through its promise of a direct relationship between the reader and the gallery over the course of decades. For Seth Siegelau, as a gallerist who largely operated without a gallery, the *Xerox Book* and his other catalogue-exhibitions combined the means of promoting the exhibition with the space of the exhibition itself. Thus, promoting Conceptual art became inextricably linked to the action of directly disseminating it to the public and the activities of gallerist and publisher combined. By establishing a sustained practice of publishing, the gallerist could use the forms of the book and the magazine as emblematic of their ethos of dealing in contemporary art. This alone is motivation enough for the gallerist to consider the positive effects of the publication to their business and, after a precedent had been set by Vollard and Kahnweiler, publishing became a logical extension of a gallerist's professional activities.

Another key theme, present from the first examples of the publications discussed here, is the importance of innovation within gallerist publishing. Gallerists were ideally placed to publish books by artists with whom they worked

directly and whose artistic practice they knew intimately. It is no surprise, therefore, that Kahnweiler should be the first to publish Cubist etchings by Picasso given his support and knowledge of the artist's oeuvre. While there had been important precursors within the field of the *livre d'artiste* in the nineteenth century, Vollard and Kahnweiler codified the nature of the deluxe illustrated book over the course of their sustained publishing practice. Kahnweiler, in particular, was daring in his choice of texts, in many cases offering avant-garde poets their first book publishing opportunity. Vollard also maximised the potential for advances in printing technology such as colour lithography to produce books that combined classic texts with work by new artists. These books conveyed the message that new art required an equally new approach and technology in its reproduction and distribution. The examples of publications considered here utilised advances in print technology, from lithography to offset printing and xerography. The books of Max Ernst that were published by Bucher represent the artist's innovations in both frottage and collage techniques in which the manner of their publishing was intrinsic to the completed works. While *Une semaine de bonté* was not Ernst's first collage-novel, it was his first novel to eschew text in favour of collage scenes on facing pages. Maeght was the first to incorporate his gallery with both a publishing house and printmakers and the first to make printmaking an essential adjunct of the exhibition process for his artists.

Siegelaub developed the idea of the publication as an alternative site for the display of art. He saw the potential for Conceptual art to contest the traditions of exhibiting and distributing contemporary art and responded to the context in New York at the time that witnessed a rise in alternative sites for the display of art. He also deliberately evoked the technology of xerography in the creation of the artworks within his publications, demonstrating his desire to be seen at the forefront of technological advances in the reproduction and distribution of art. This was vital to his practice as a freelance dealer whereby he made the argument that new, dematerialised art no longer required the space of the gallery to be experienced by the public. Zwirner's *ekphrasis* series is the first of its kind dedicated to *ekphrastic* texts published by new authors as well as more obscure and out-of-print texts by leading artists and writers of the last century. The desire to do something different, and to publish texts that no other publishing house would publish is again linked to the publisher's desire to be seen at the forefront of contemporary art writing.

Collaboration is inherent to the publishing process, where a publication is borne out of the combined efforts of an artist, writer, publisher and printer. The level of involvement that the publisher has within that collaboration can vary but each of the examples discussed here represent publishers who were directly involved in each step of the process. From Vollard's insistence on the use of the Garamond typeface and Kahnweiler requesting his poet friends send him texts to publish and handpicking the artists to illustrate them, the precedent was set for gallerists to manage the collaborative process from beginning to end. While the gallery and publishing operation of David Zwirner Gallery are officially separate entities, Lucas Zwirner has made it clear that his father is directly involved with the design of every one of the books published under his imprint. The choice of texts for the *ekphrasis* series, in particular, are the responsibility of Lucas Zwirner as editorial director but this too is done in concert with David Zwirner as director of the gallery. Zwirner's approach to selecting texts for the series echoes that of both Vollard and Kahnweiler, in that he brings together new writers with other out-of-print or obscure texts.

Collaboration was also central to the books of Surrealist artists and poets published by Bucher. In my study of these works I shifted focus from the role of artist and poet to Bucher's role as publisher and manager of these collaborative relationships. In doing so, I sought to return Bucher's agency as female publisher of predominantly male collaborative books. It is clear that Bucher positioned herself at the centre of the publishing process and thus at the heart of a wider network of Surrealist artists, poets and fellow gallerists and publishers. Siegelaub was similarly at the heart of his collaborations with Conceptual artists. It was Siegelaub, combining the role of gallerist and publisher, who commissioned works and set the specifications for the contributions of his regular group of artists. The projects were Siegelaub's conception from beginning to end and like Bucher he managed all aspects of the publication from creation to distribution, sales and the sharing of profits. Again, the similarities between the approach of gallerists to dealing in art and distributing the book are apparent and demonstrate why the former was so often accompanied by the latter.

The recurring theme of the second half of the thesis is that of post-war gallerist publishing as a means of democratisation. By democratisation through publishing, I refer to a deliberate process of widening access to, and engagement with, artworks as well as a concerted effort to bypass the institutions of the art market and deliver art directly to the public in the form of the publication. Given

the broad scope of such a process, it was necessary to examine various methods used by gallerists in which this could be achieved and the effects at such efforts to widen access to works by artists represented in their respective galleries. Maeght, Siegelau and Zwirner have all demonstrated a desire to widen access to contemporary art through their publishing activities. Maeght's gallery magazine functioned as a collective storehouse for the original prints produced by his stable of artists. In *Derrière le miroir*, Maeght was able to distribute art directly to the public in a manner that echoed the form of the *livre d'artiste*, with its combination of contemporary art and poetry, but in a far more accessible format. *Derrière le miroir* made the regular reader of the magazine a collector of easily available and affordable contemporary art. The serial nature of the magazine also allowed the artists themselves the opportunity for a greater degree of experimentation with printmaking as an extension to their artistic practice. While Maeght allowed the reader to engage with these artworks outside the literal space of the gallery, the magazine remained inextricably linked to the gallery in both its content and manner of creation. Maeght's magazine, therefore, represented a means of widening access but while also strengthening the bounds of the gallery system.

Siegelau, by comparison, sought to bypass the space of the gallery completely through his publishing practice. By choosing to use the catalogue as the principal site for the display and dissemination of dematerialised art, Siegelau offered an alternative space in which to engage with this form of art. In keeping with contemporary artistic practice that saw a shift away from the confines of the gallery space, Siegelau published catalogue-exhibitions that eschewed the bureaucracy and hierarchy of art institutions to distribute art directly to the public. Zwirner's approach to widening public engagement with art is built around providing texts on artists that de-privilege the traditional role of critic and advocate for more personal, subjective encounters with artworks. *Ekphrastic* writing offers a historical basis and theoretical framework for non-specialized readers to respond to art based on their own interpretations. The texts in the *ekphrasis* series encourage a level of interpretive critical agency in regard to artworks and artistic processes that was traditionally the domain of the critic. Each of these gallerists, in their own way, offers a level of democratisation through publishing. Such democratisation is also bound up with the other themes discussed here of collaboration, innovation and promotion. By recognising the opportunities for self-promotion, pioneering new approaches to the publication, and by fostering collaboration between artists, writers and printers, gallerists threw open the doors

of the gallery as publishing house and created new spaces and networks for the public to experience modern and contemporary art.

In this thesis my primary concern has been an analysis of the publications produced by gallerists as artworks, objects and a means of disseminating works of art and art writing as well as the contemporary publishing context within which these publications were produced. This study is, of course, not exhaustive and future research on the subject could continue by focusing on any one of the key themes of promotion, innovation, collaboration and democratisation that I have identified as characteristic of gallerist publishing. In particular, the means by which gallerists engaged with advances in printing technologies could prove fertile ground for further study. Additional scholarship on the topic of the gallerist as publisher could, however, focus on areas of interest to studies of the art market such as the direct financial benefits to the businesses of gallerists that were gained from their various strands of publishing practice. My aim here, however, was to provide the first authoritative account of the gallerist as publisher from 1900 to the present and thus I have been careful to offer an account of this field of publishing that seeks to identify and analyse the key issues at its heart. By covering the various forms and functions of the gallerist publication; by examining the contemporary publishing contexts within which gallerists were operating; and by exploring the common themes and issues that unite this form of publishing practice, I have created an account of the gallerist as publisher in the twentieth century that is extensive and thorough while still offering in-depth analysis of the key publications that form the core of this publishing history.

The Gallerist as Publisher:
a critical history from 1900 to the present

Allan Charles Madden
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Volume II of II

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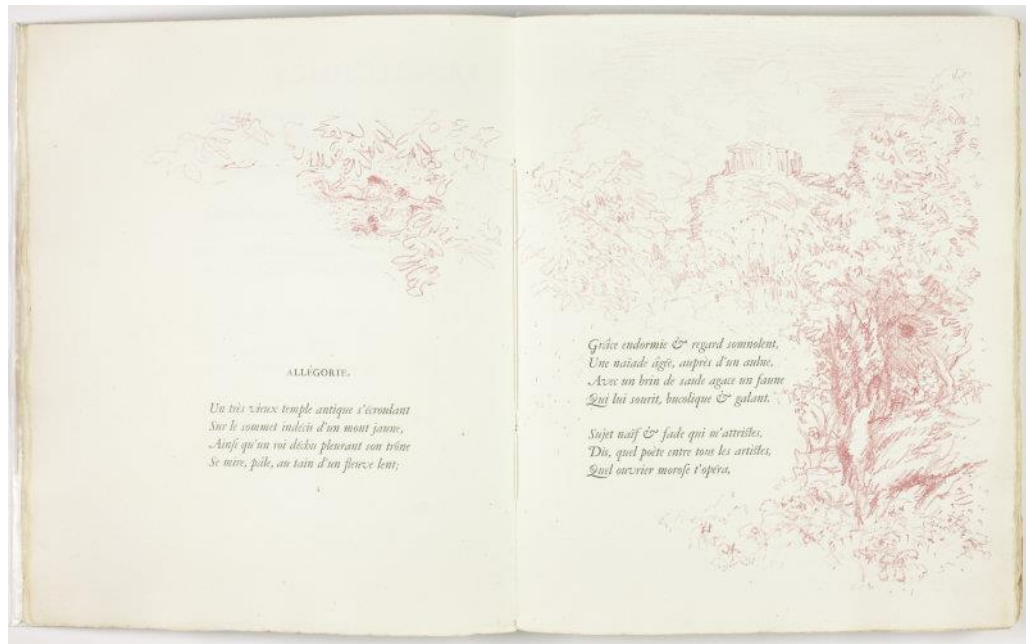
Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

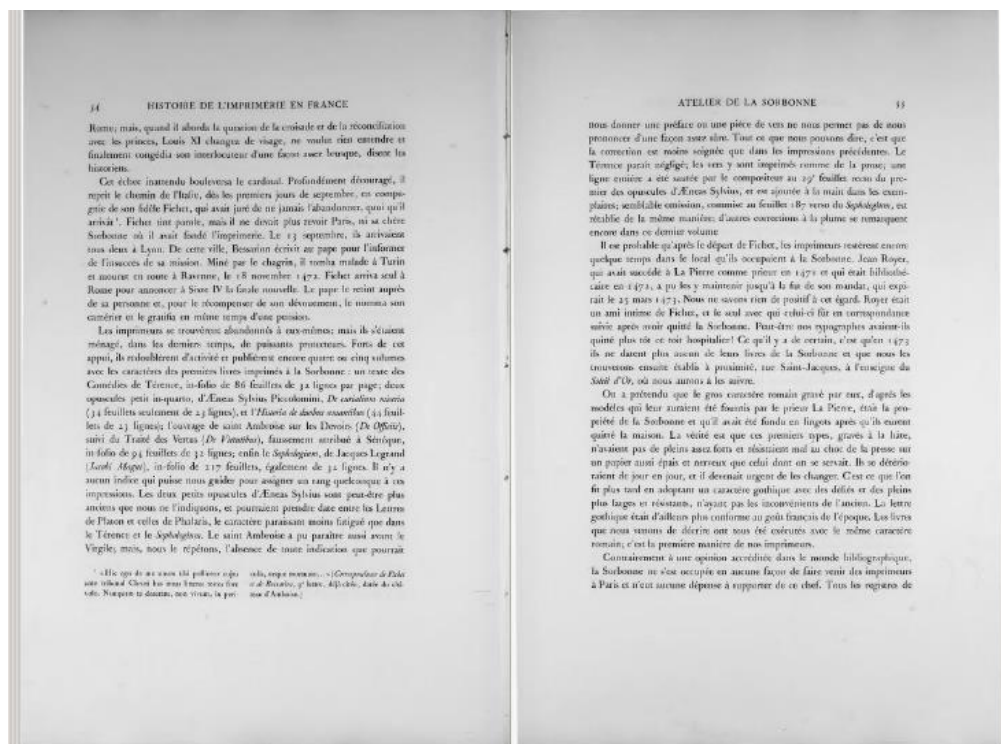
Allan Charles Madden

Illustrations

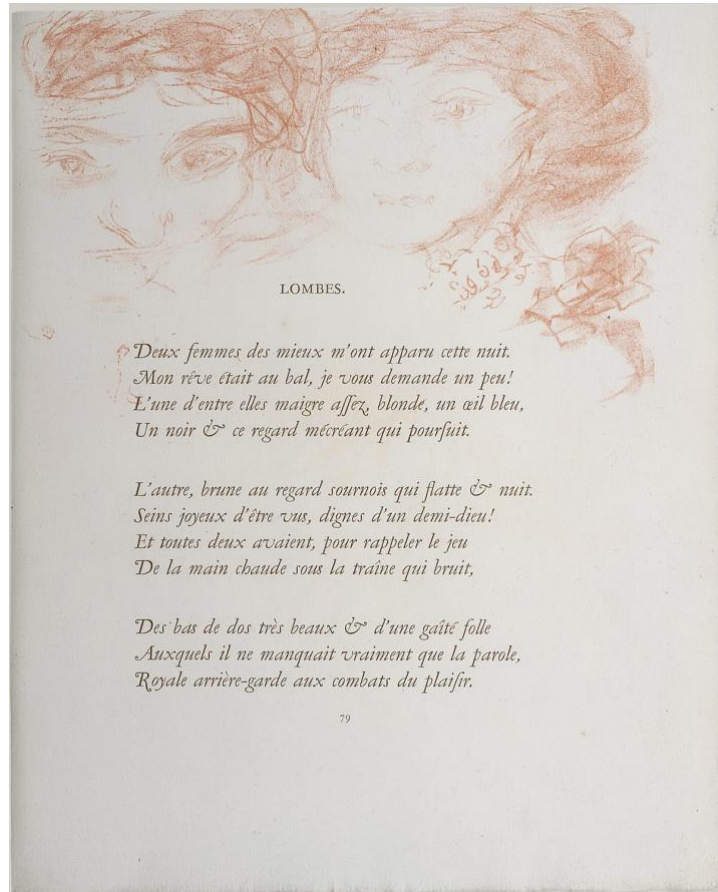
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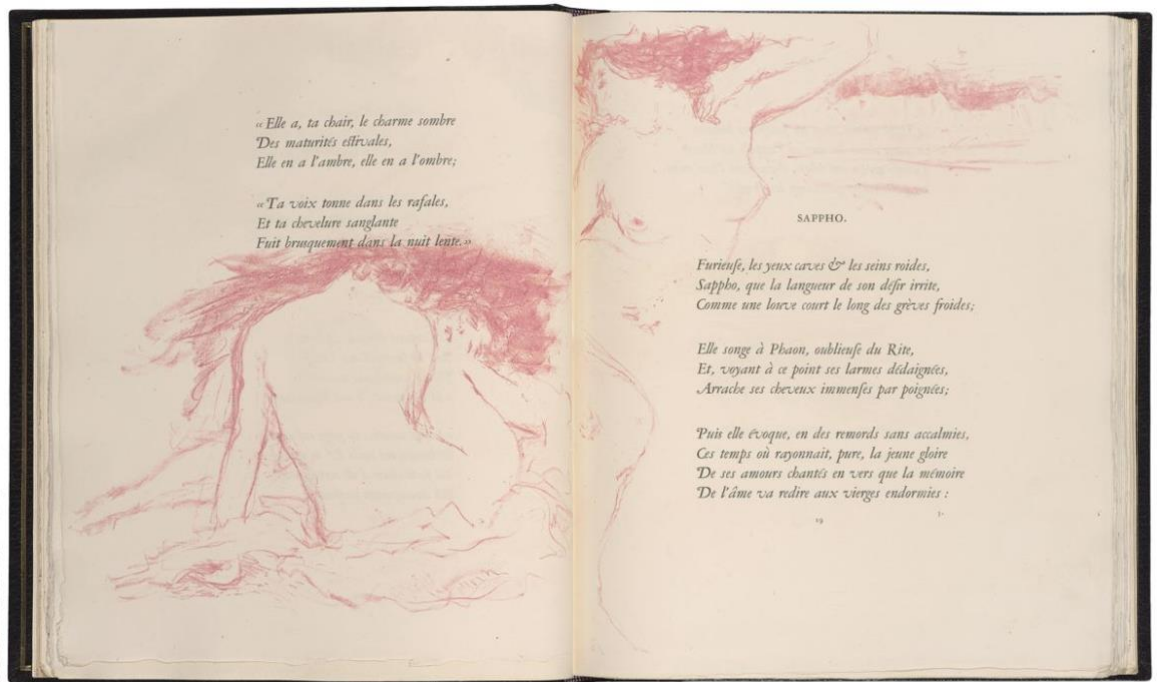
(fig. 1) Verlaine and Bonnard, *Parallèlement*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, Éditeur, 1900)



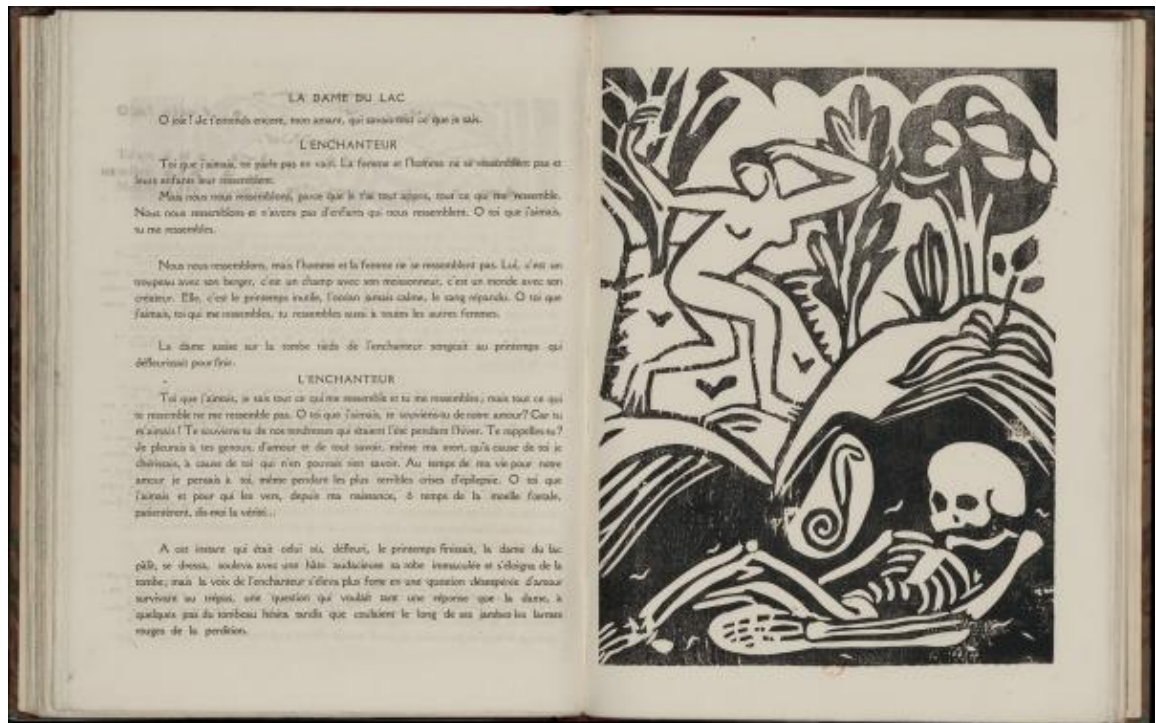
(fig. 2) Anatole Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XV et au XVI Siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900)



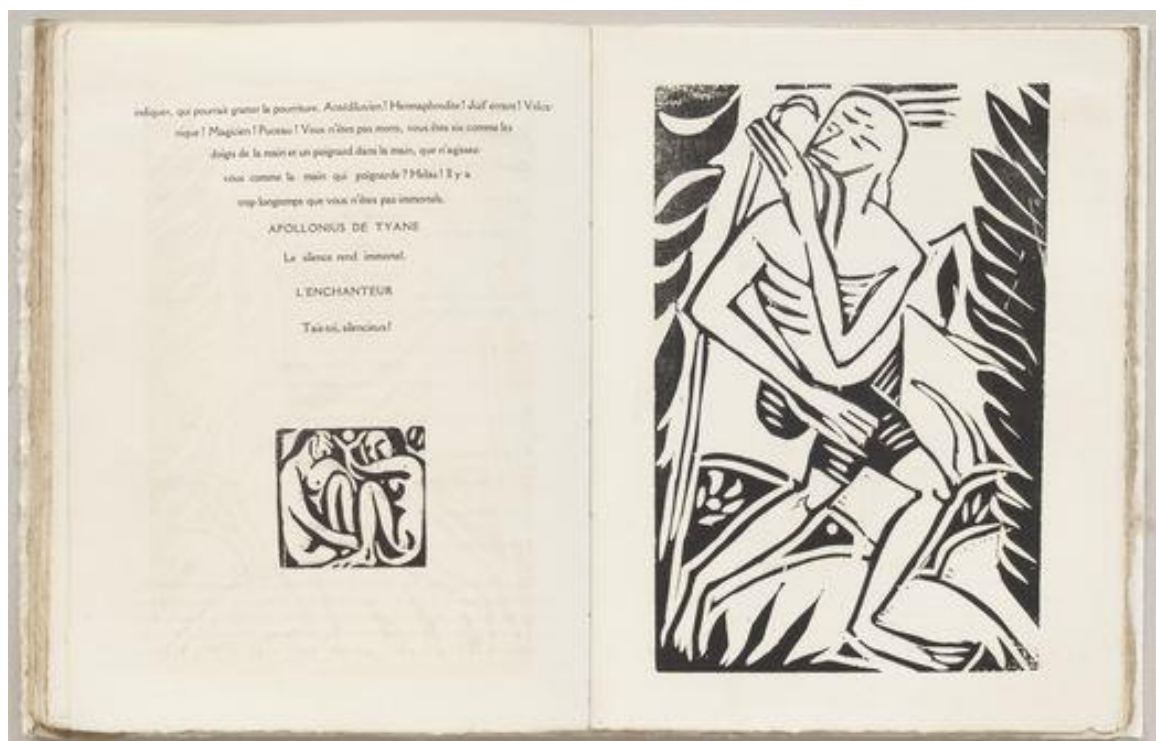
(fig. 3) Verlaine and Bonnard, *Parallèlement*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, Éditeur, 1900)



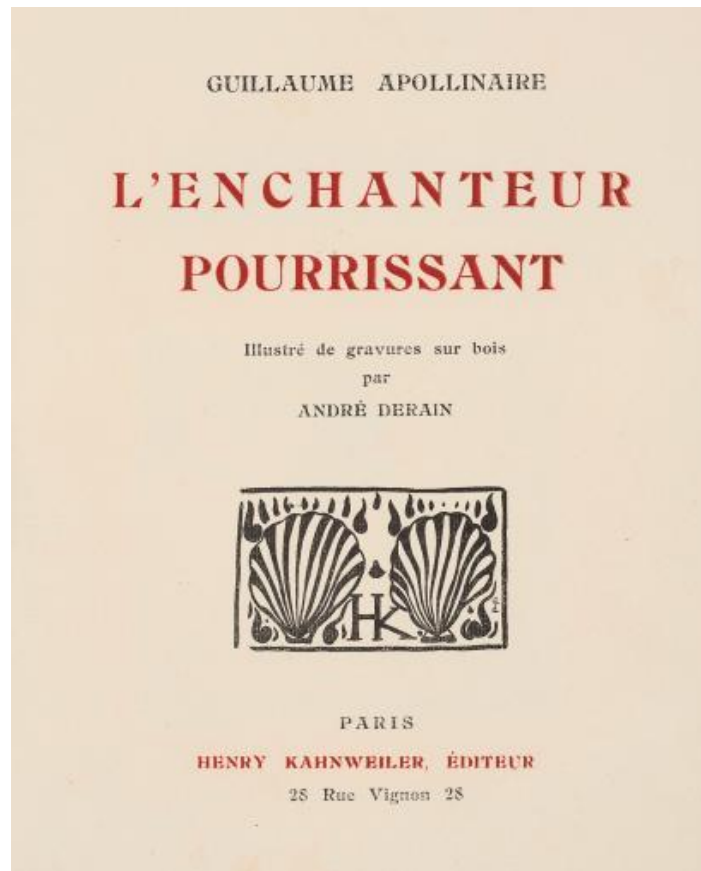
(fig. 4) Verlaine and Bonnard, *Parallèlement*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, Éditeur, 1900)



(fig. 5) Apollinaire and Derain, *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, (Paris: Henry Kahnweiler Éditeur, 1909)



(fig. 6) Apollinaire and Derain, *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, (Paris: Henry Kahnweiler Éditeur, 1909)



(fig. 7) Apollinaire and Derain, *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, (Paris: Henry Kahnweiler Éditeur, 1909)



(fig. 8) Apollinaire and Derain, Kahnweiler Publisher's mark, (Paris: Henry Kahnweiler Éditeur, 1909)



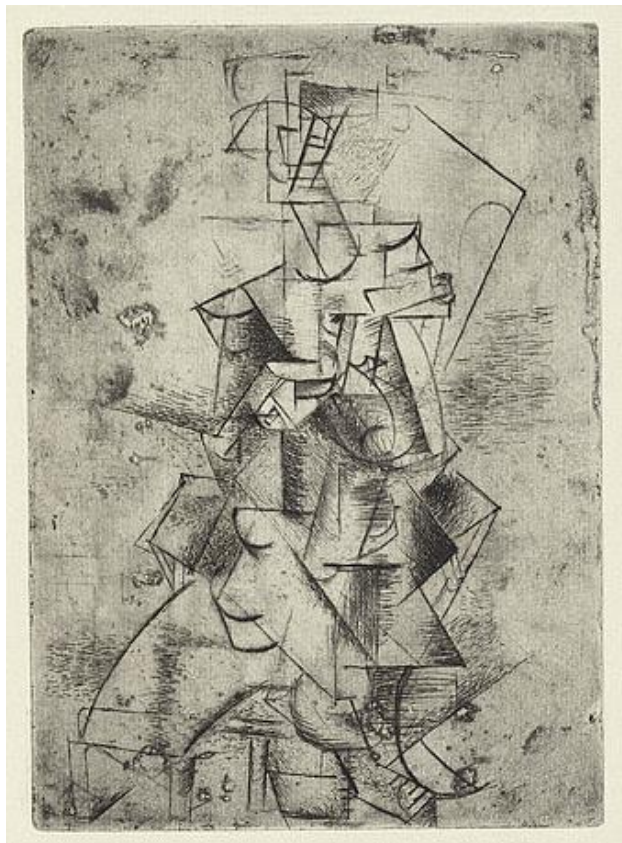
(fig. 9) Longus and Bonnard, *Daphnis et Chloé*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard Éditeur, 1902)



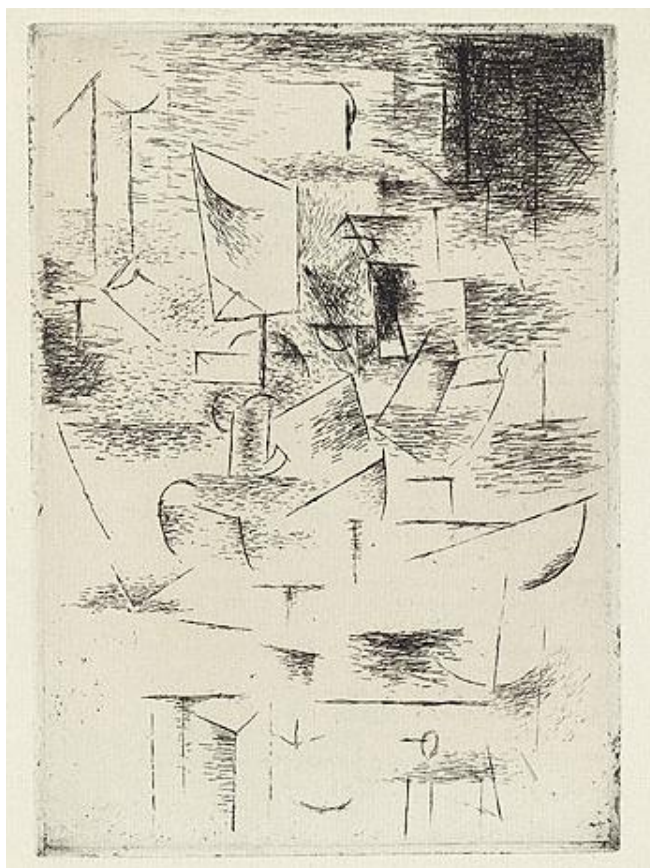
(fig. 10) Mirbeau and Rodin, *Le Jardin des supplices*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard Éditeur, 1902)



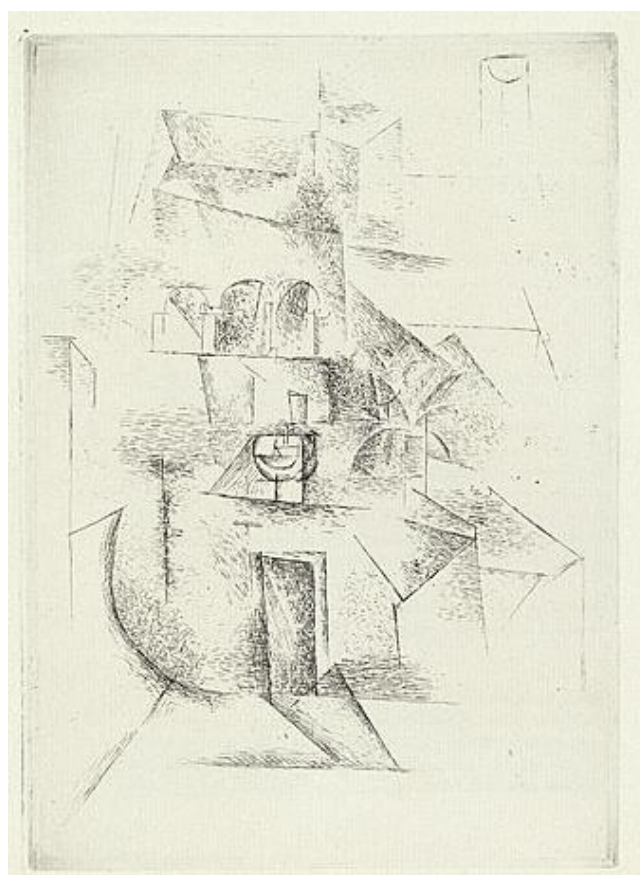
(fig. 11) Picasso, *untitled*, 1911



(fig. 12) Picasso, *untitled*, 1911



(fig. 13) Picasso, *untitled*, 1911



(fig. 14) Picasso, *untitled*, 1911



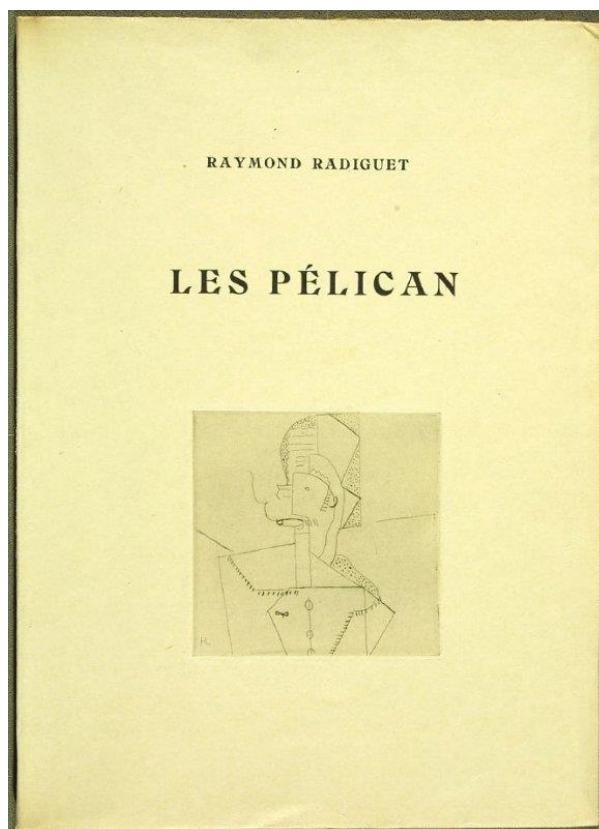
(fig. 15) Picasso, *Female Nude*, 1914



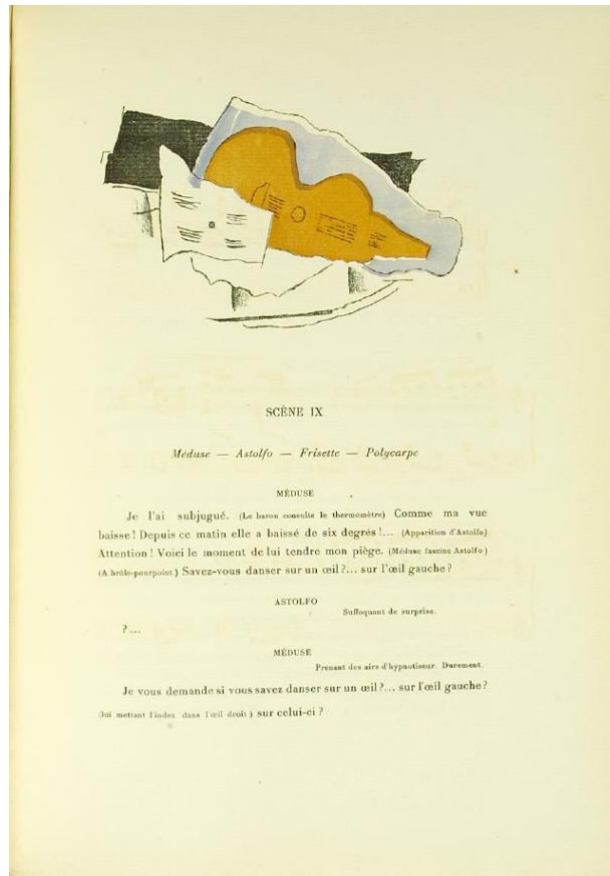
(fig. 16) Picasso, *Still Life With Skull*, 1914



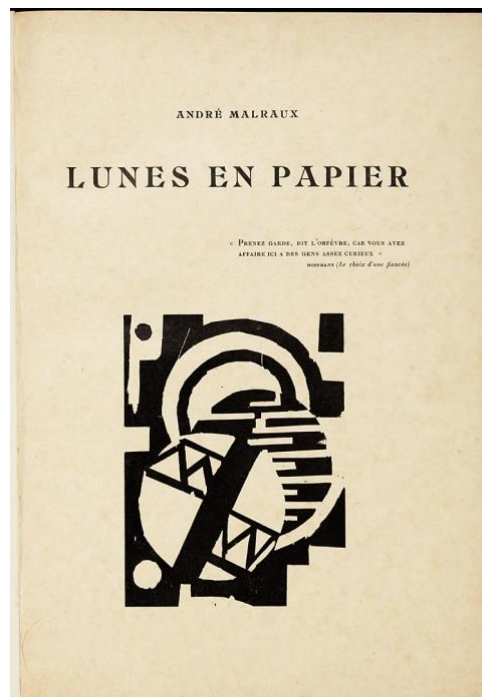
(fig. 17) Picasso, *Woman*, 1914



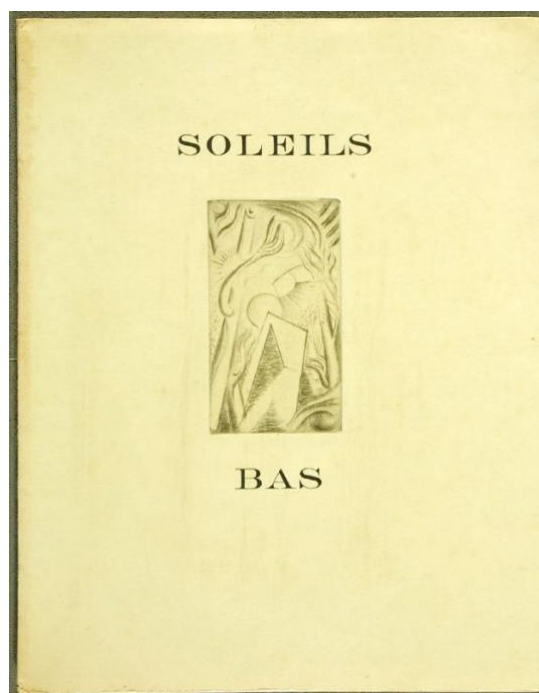
(fig. 18) Radiguet and Laurens, *Les Pélican*, (Paris: Éditions de la Galerie Simon, 1921)



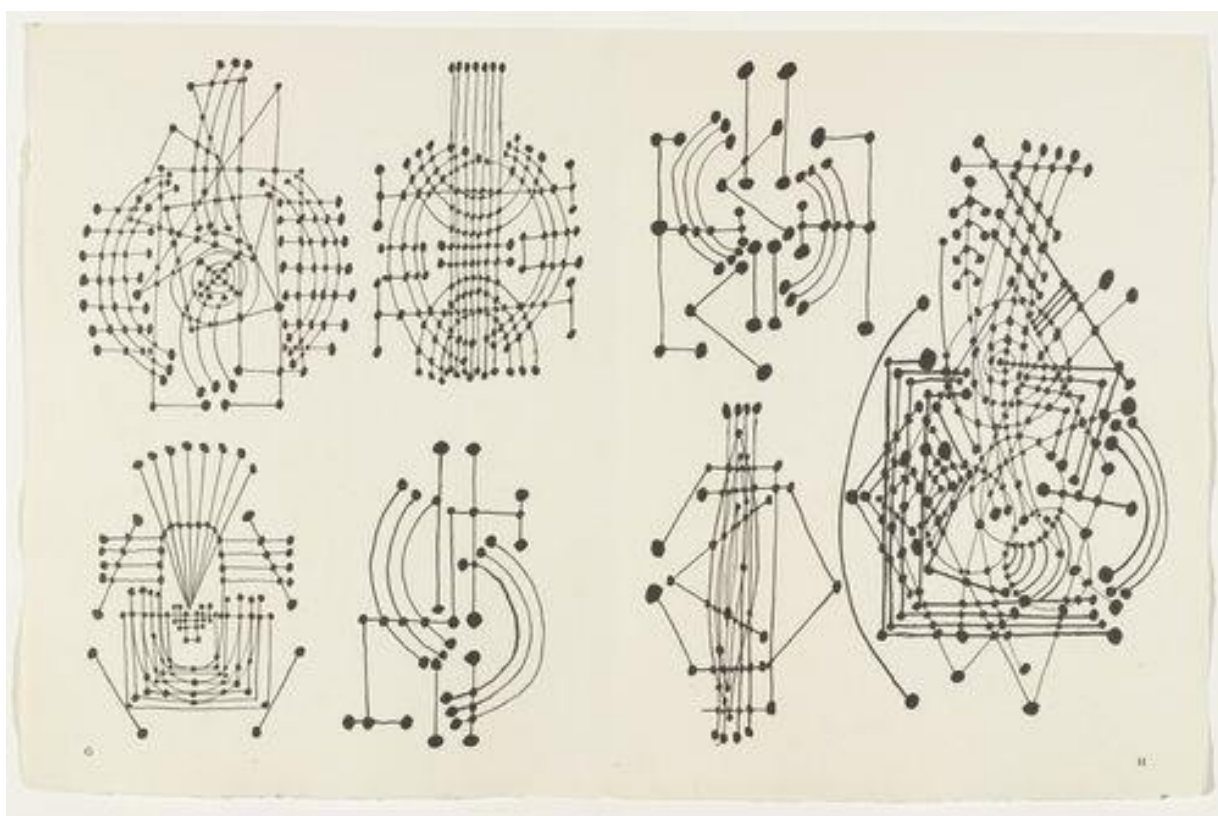
(fig. 19) Satie and Braque, *Le Piège de Méduse*, (Paris: Éditions de la Galerie Simon, 1921)



(fig. 20) Malraux and Léger, *Lunes en papier*, (Paris: Éditions de la Galerie)



(fig. 21) Limbour and Masson, *Soleils bas*, (Paris: Éditions de la Galerie Simon, 1924)



(fig. 22) Aubert, after drawings by Picasso, *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, Éditeur, 1931)



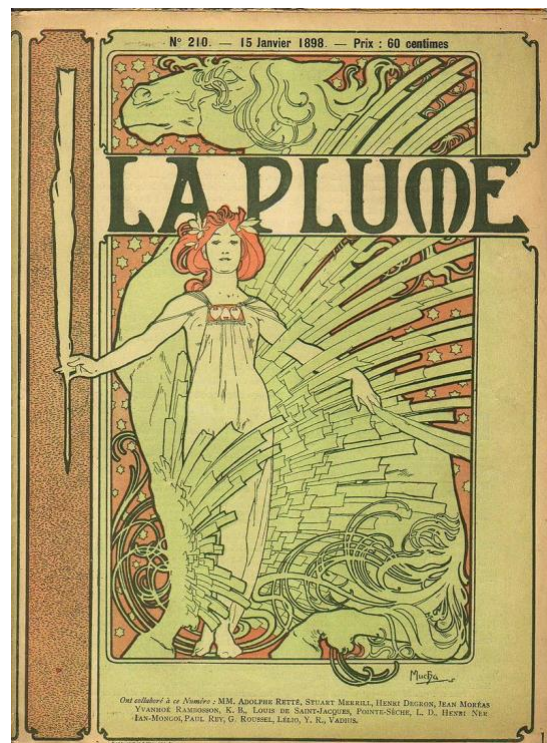
(fig. 23) Picasso, *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, Éditeur, 1931)



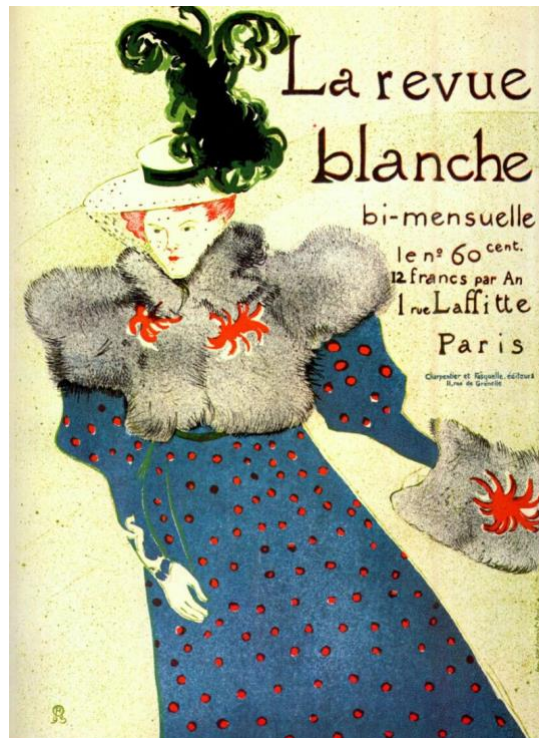
(fig. 24) Rouault, *Le Cirque de l'étoile filante*, (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, Éditeur, 1938)



(fig. 25) Rouault, *Le Cirque de l'étoile filante*, (Paris: Ambroise Volland, Éditeur, 1938)



(fig. 26) *La Plume* (1889 – 1905)



(fig. 27) *La Revue blanche* (1889 – 1903)



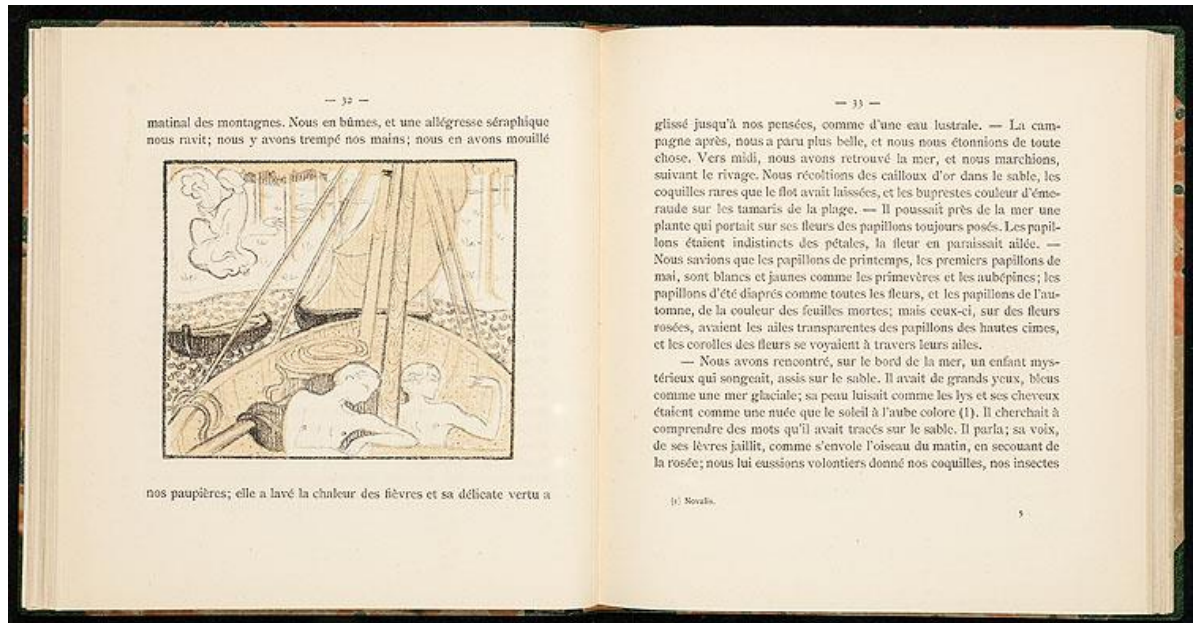
(fig. 28) *L'Ermitage* (1890 – 1906)



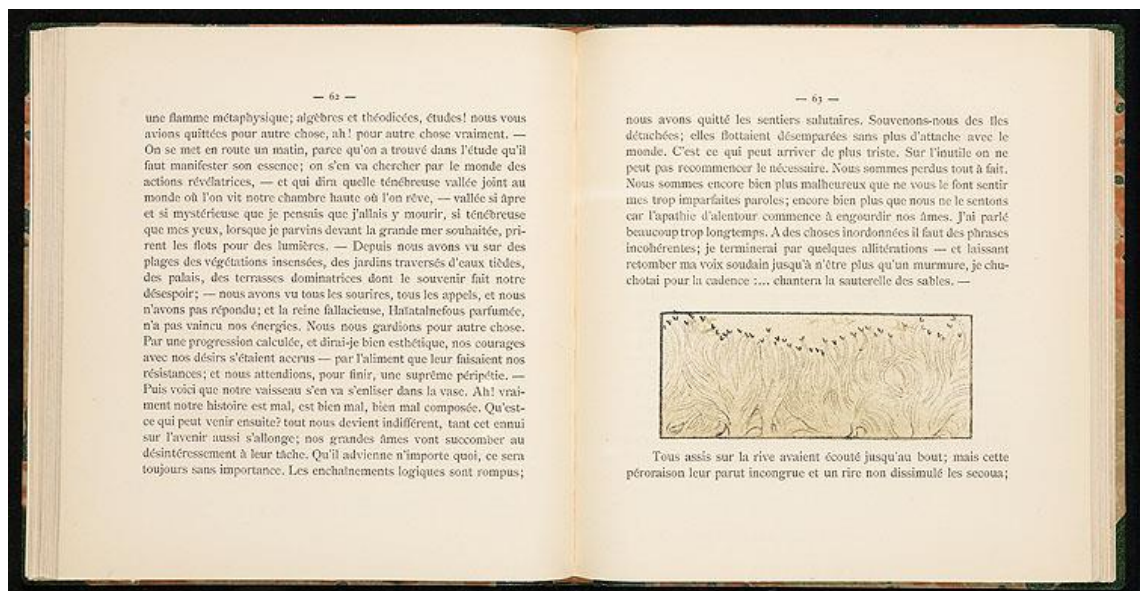
(fig. 29) Bonnard, poster for *La Revue blanche*, 1894



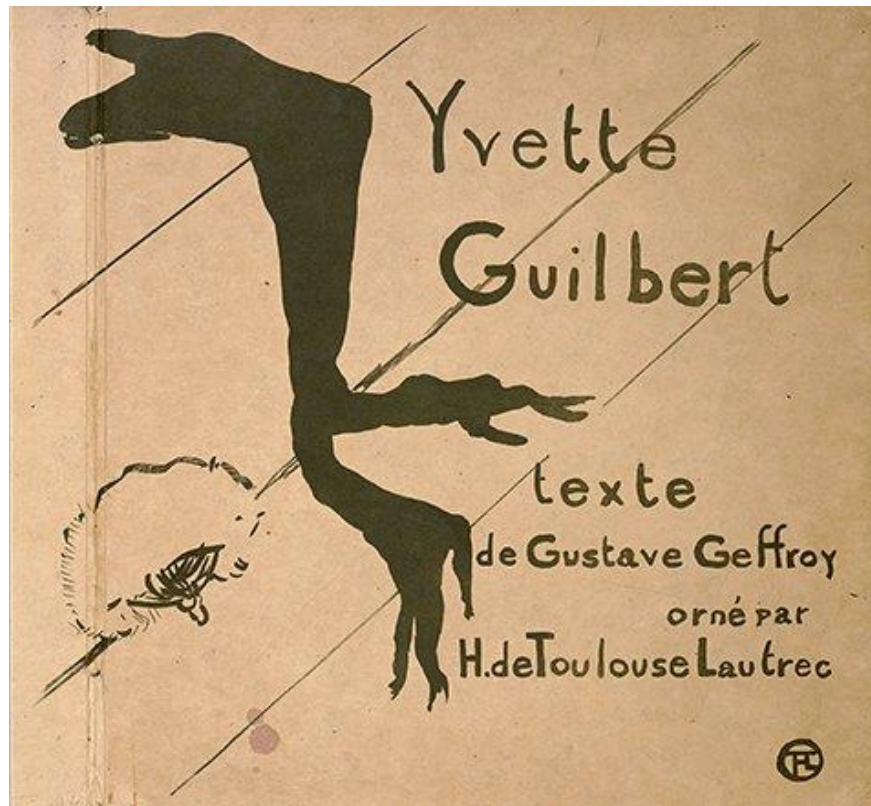
(fig. 30) Toulouse-Lautrec, colour lithograph, cover of *L'Estampe originale*, 1893



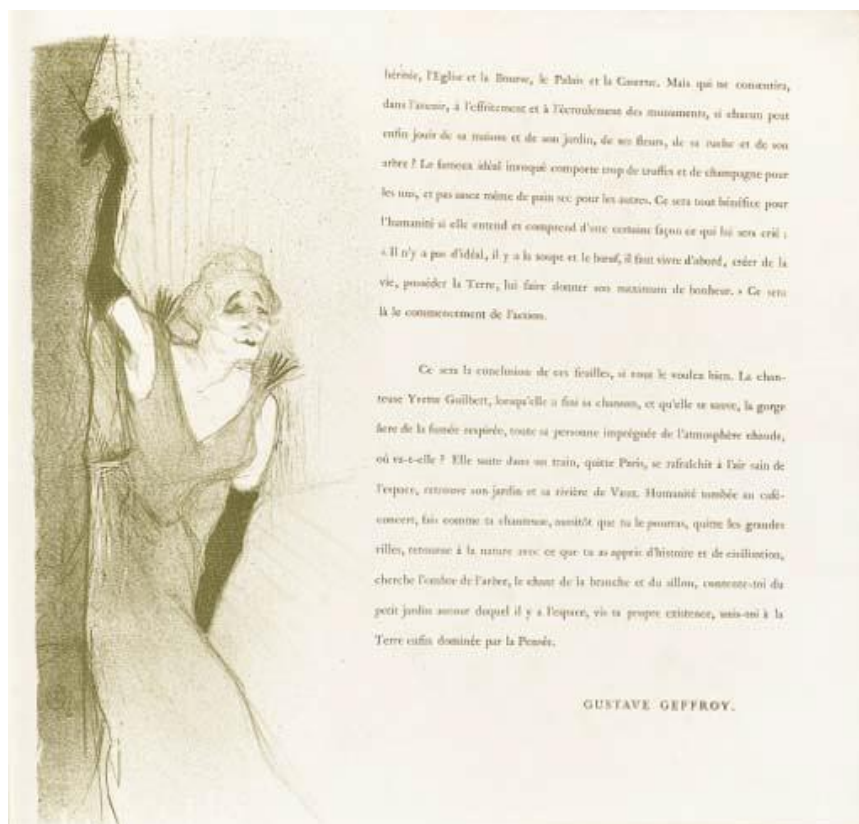
(fig. 31) Gide and Denis, *Le Voyage d'Urien*, (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Indépendent, 1893)



(fig. 32) Gide and Denis, *Le Voyage d'Urien*, (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Indépendent, 1893)



(fig. 33) Geffroy and Lautrec, *Yvette Guilbert*, (Paris: L'Estampe originale, 1894)



(fig. 34) Geffroy and Lautrec, *Yvette Guilbert*, (Paris: L'Estampe originale, 1894)

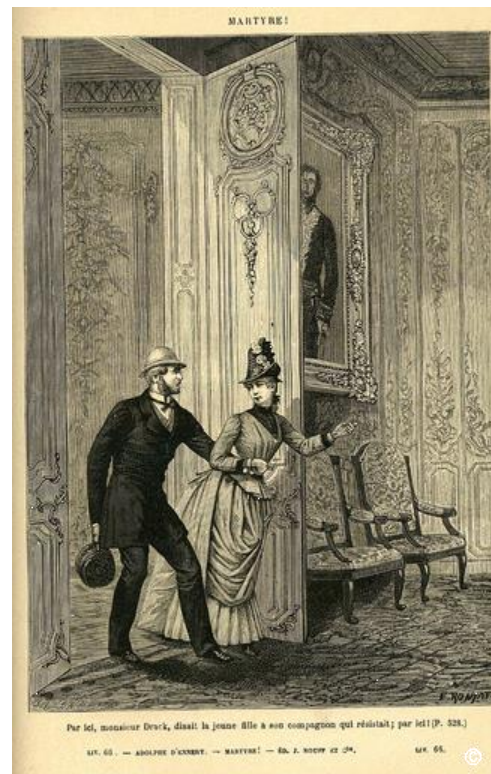
Chapter Two:



(fig. 1) Max Ernst, *Une semaine de bonté*, (Paris: Éditions Jeanne Bucher, 1934)



(fig. 2) Flower sale at Gare Saint-Lazare, featuring the actresses and singers Josephine Baker and Damia, on behalf of La Semaine de la Bonté



(fig. 3) Image from Adolphe Alphonse d'Ennery, *Martyre!* and a scene from *La cour du Dragon*



(fig. 4) First scene of *La Lion de Belfort*



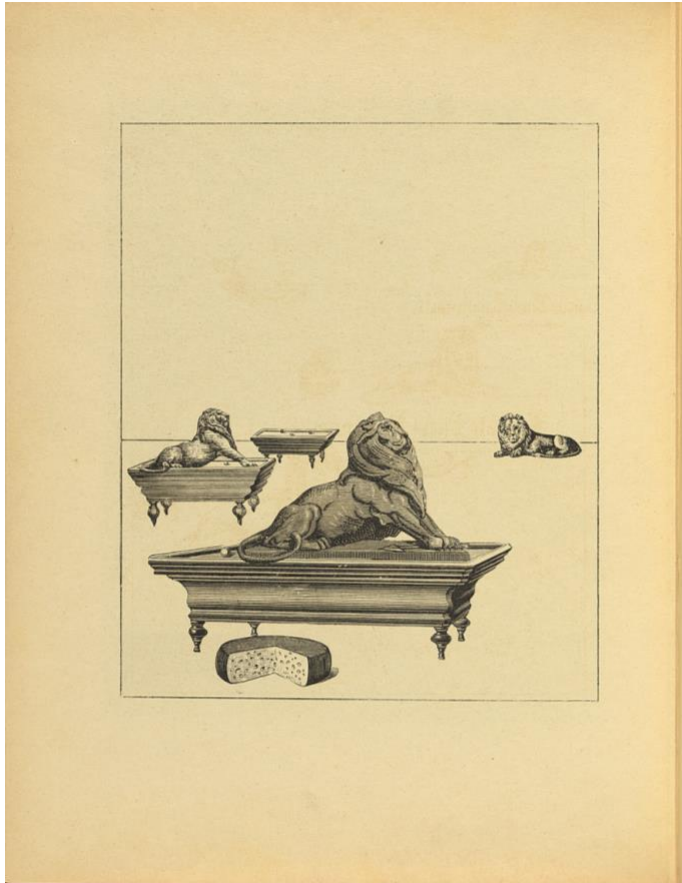
(fig. 5) Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, *Le Lion de Belfort*, (1880)



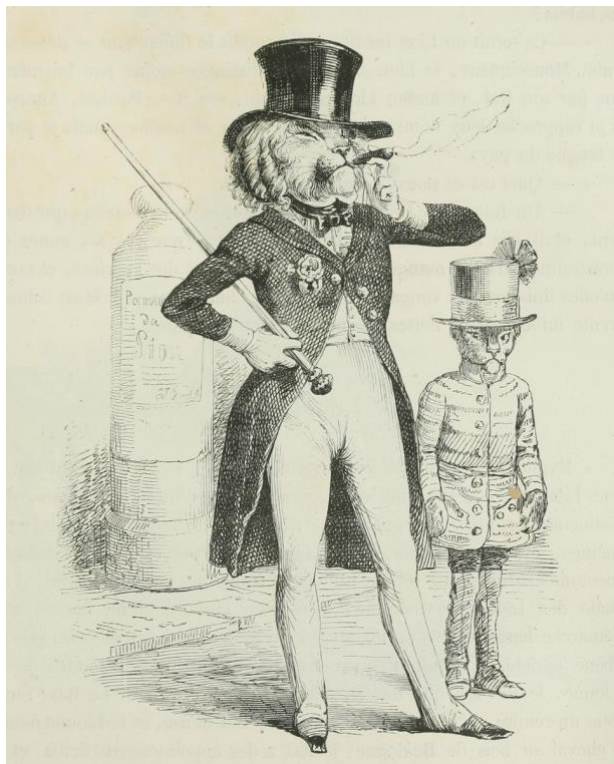
(fig. 6) Colonel Denfert-Rochereau



(fig. 7) Place Denfert-Rochereau, Montparnasse, Paris



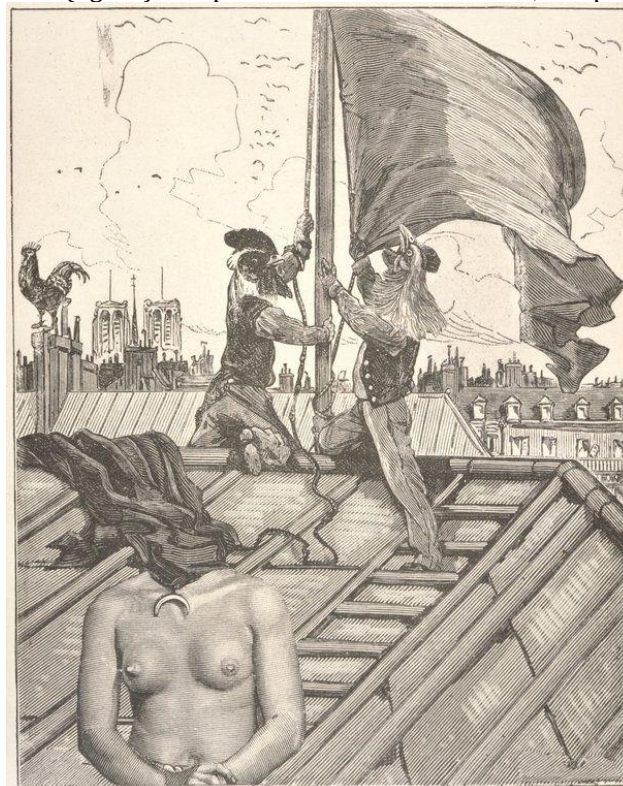
(fig. 8) Le Lion de Belfort



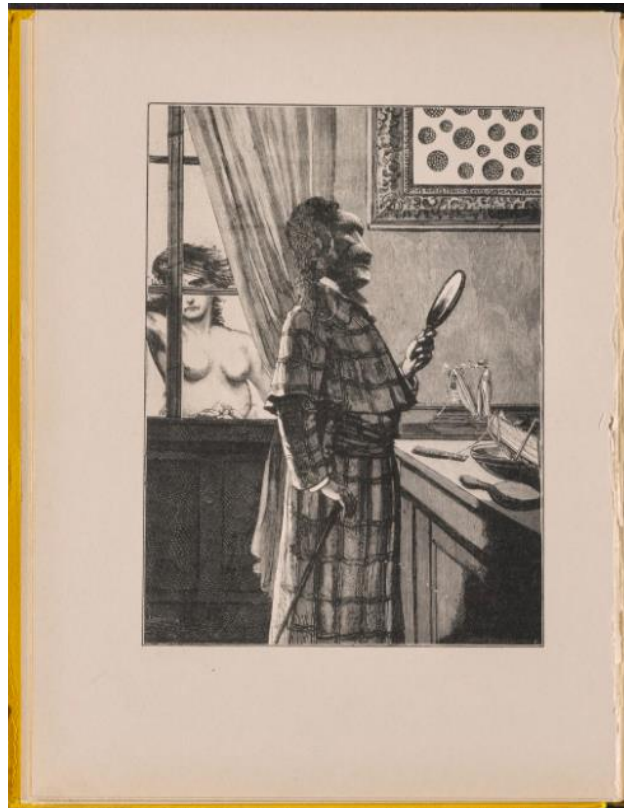
(fig. 9) Grandville, A Parisian Lion and His Page, (1842)



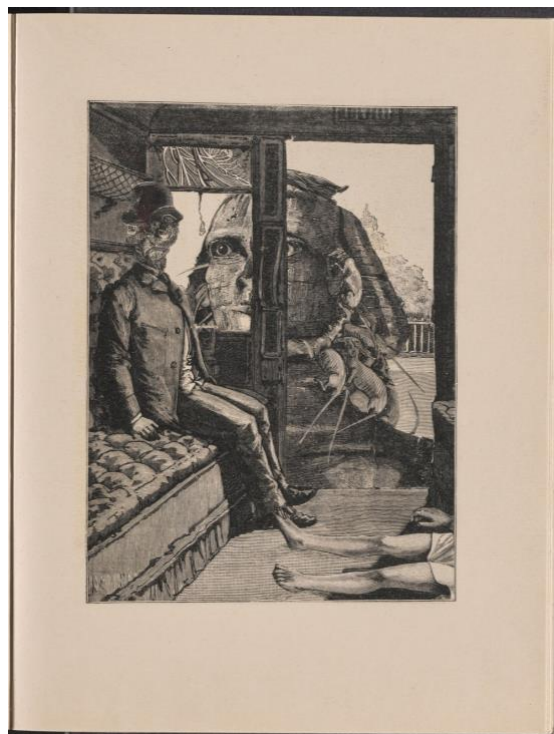
(fig. 10) Oedipe is cast out onto the street, *Oedipe*



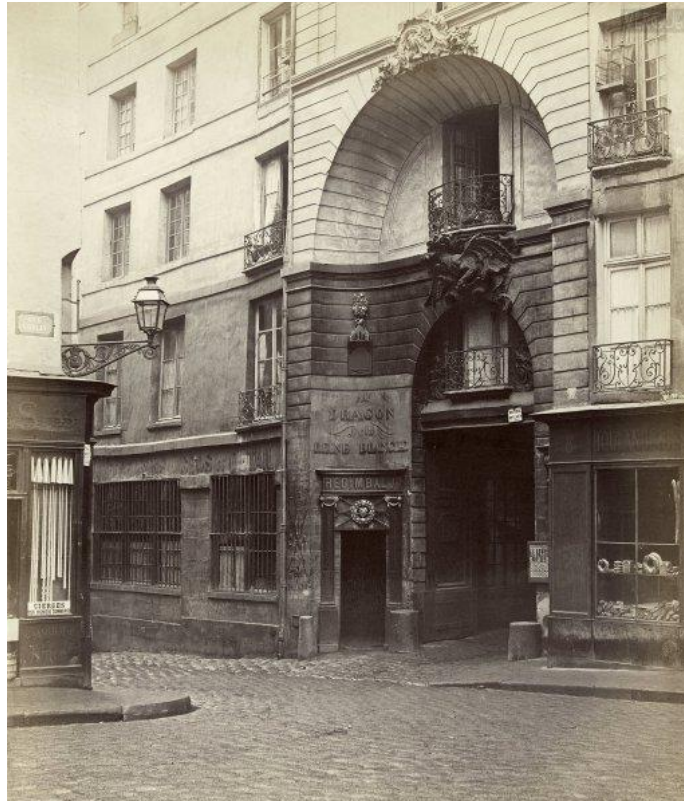
(fig. 11) *La Rire du Coq*



(fig. 12) *L'île de pâques*



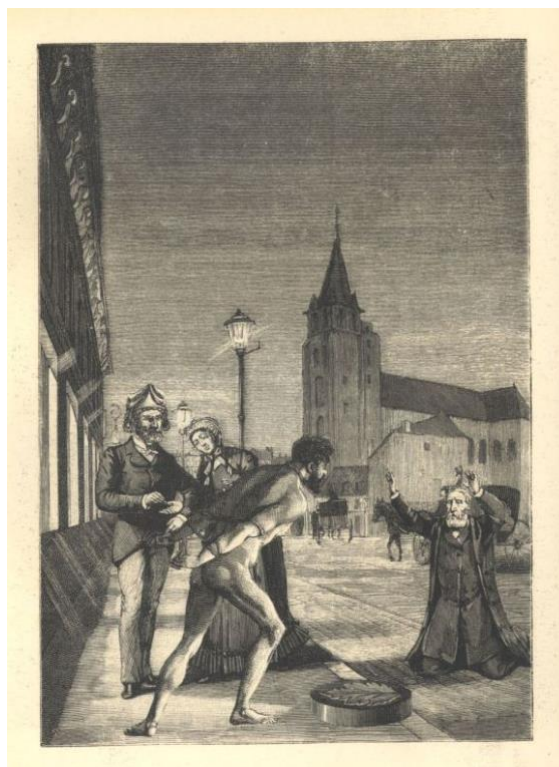
(fig. 13) *Oedipe*



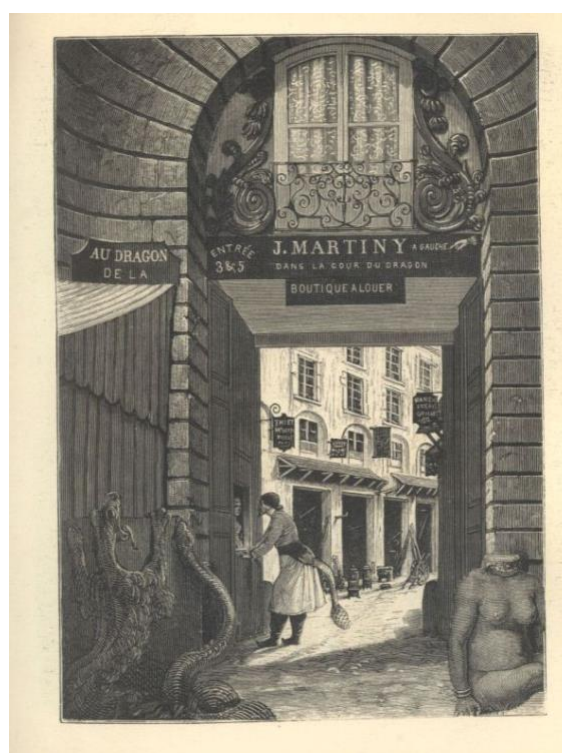
(fig. 14) Entranceway to La Cour du Dragon



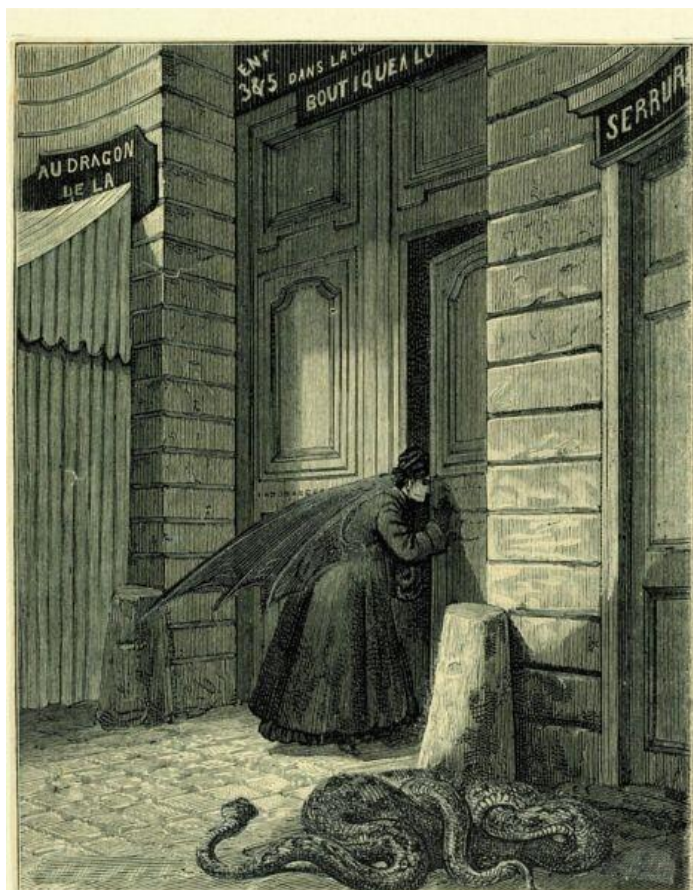
(fig. 15) La Cour du Dragon



(fig. 16) *La Cour du Dragon*



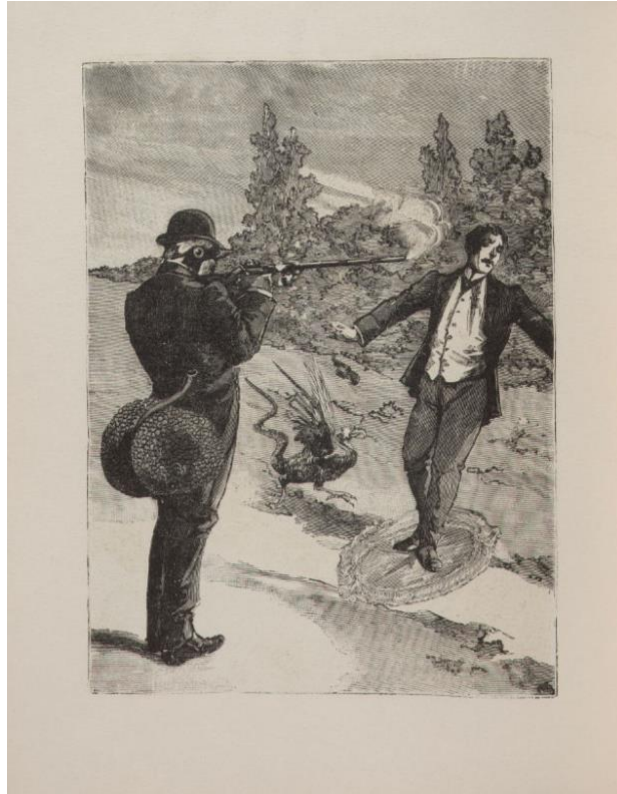
(fig. 17) *La Cour du Dragon*



(fig. 18) *La Cour du Dragon*



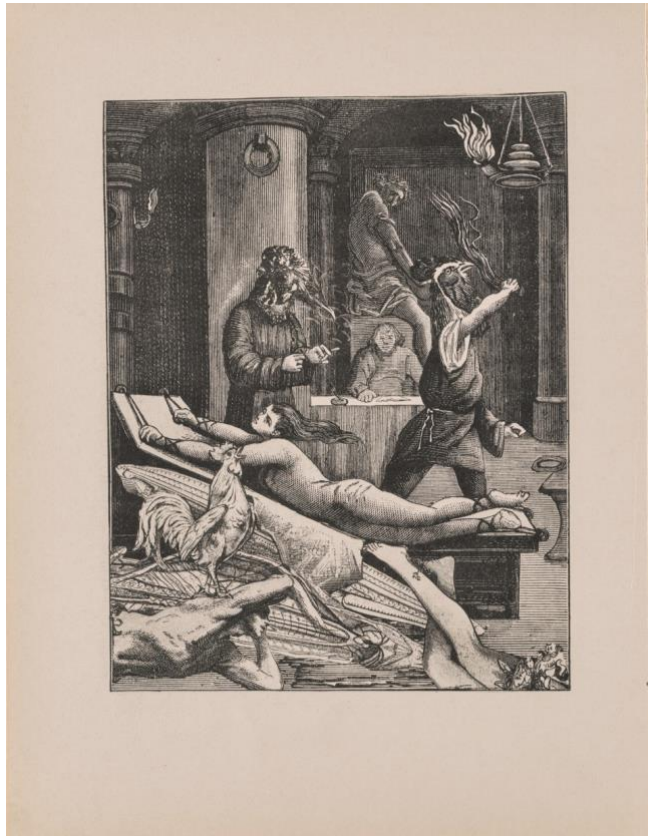
(fig. 19) *Lion de Belfort*



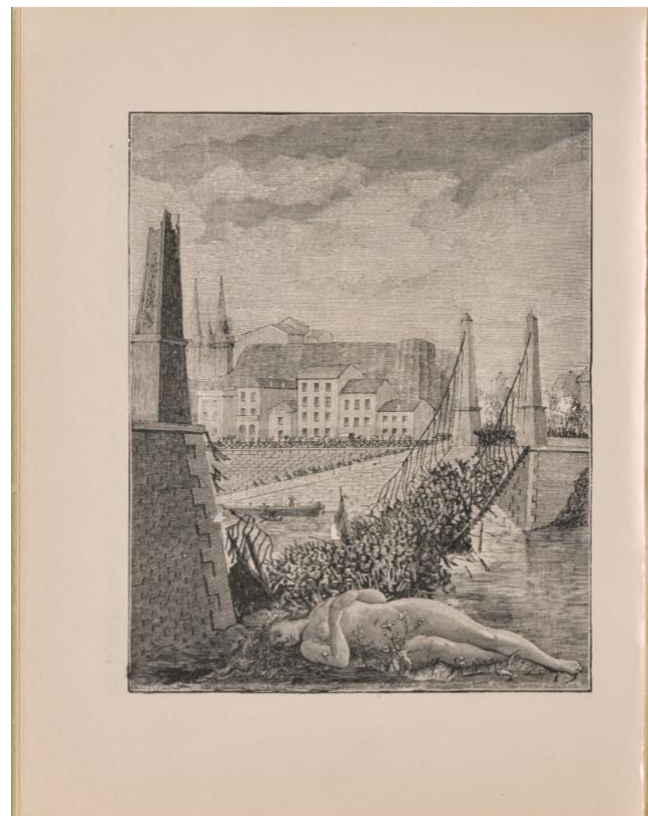
(fig. 20) *Oedipe*



(fig. 21) *Oedipe*



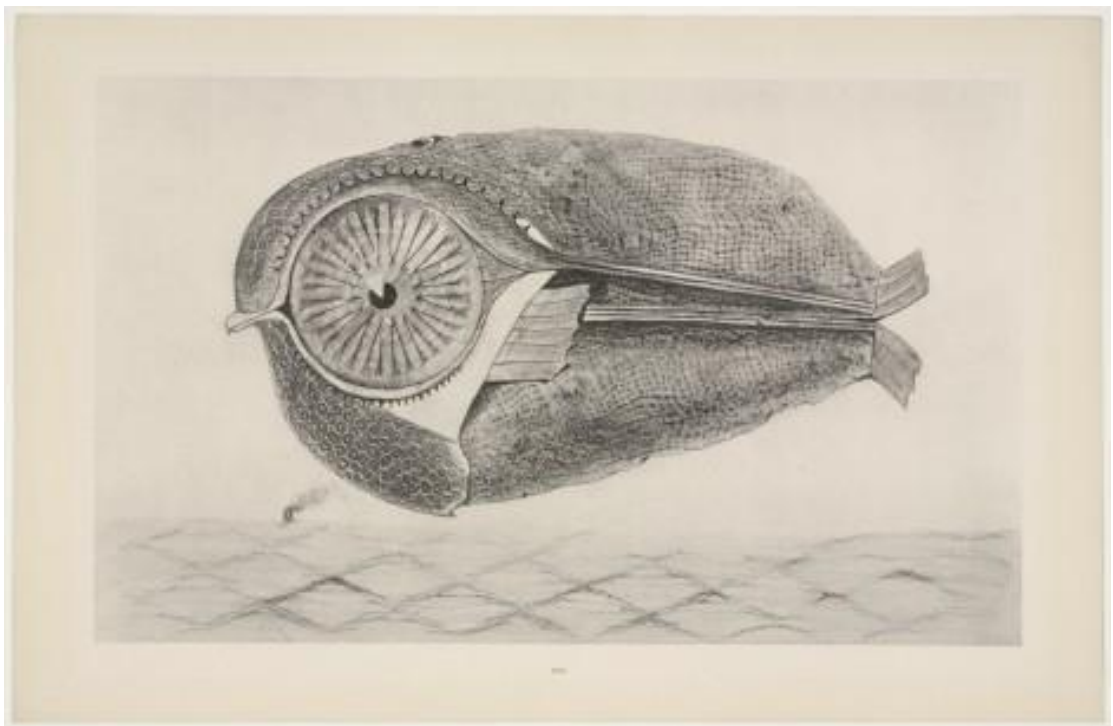
(fig. 22) *La Rire du Coq*



(fig. 23) *L'eau*



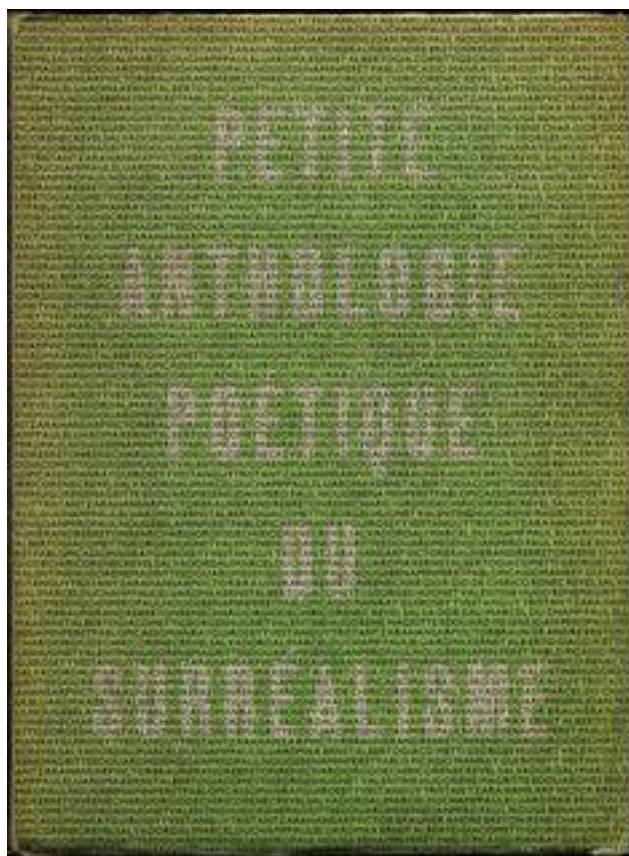
(fig. 24) Galerie Jeanne Bucher



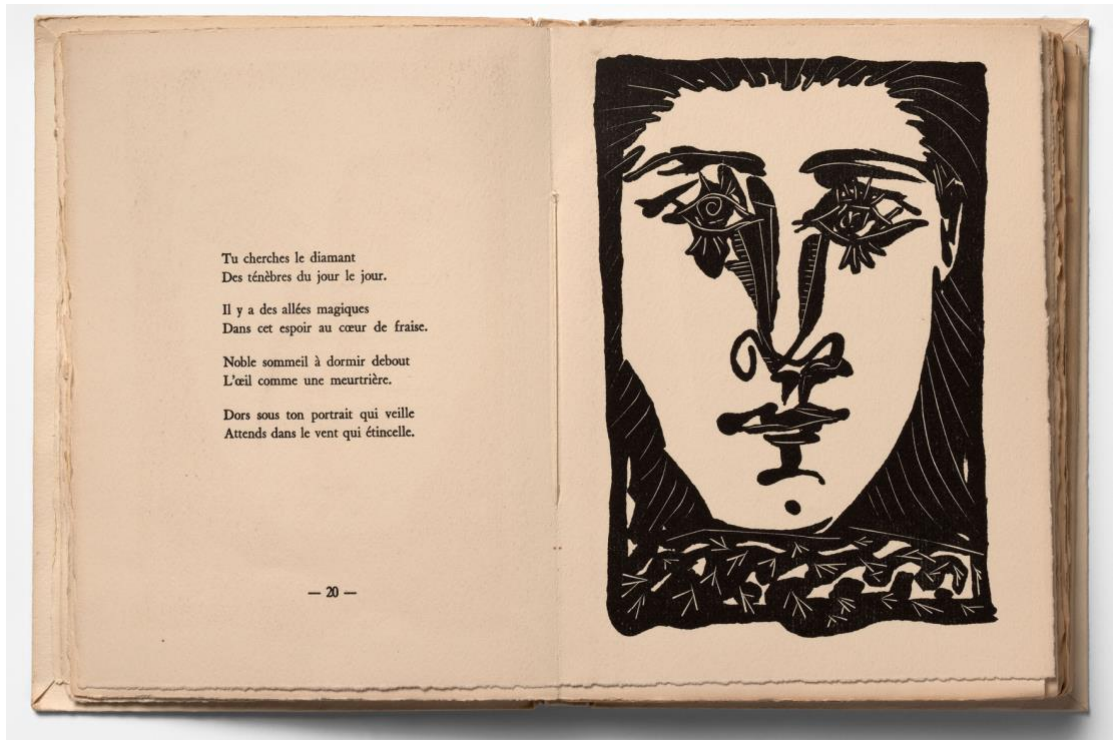
(fig. 25) Max Ernst, frottage from *Histoire Naturelle*, (1926)



(figs. 26 and 27) Max Ernst, *Untitled*, unpublished collages for *Une semaine de bonté*



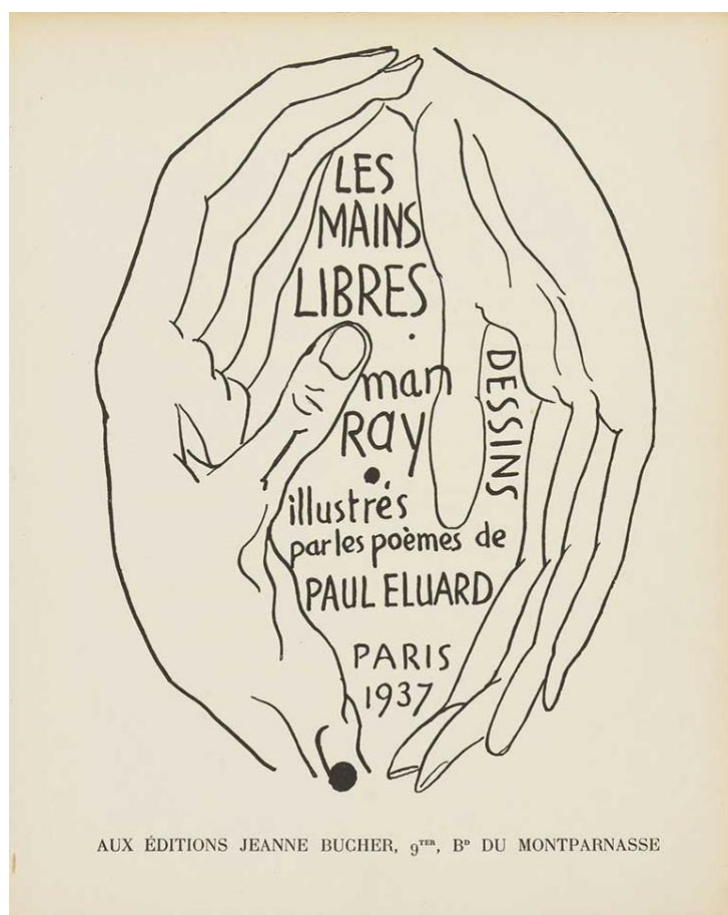
(fig. 28) Georges Hugnet, *Petite anthologie poétique du surréalisme*, (1934)



(fig. 29) Georges Hugnet and Pablo Picasso, *Non Vouloir*, (1934)



(fig. 30) Georges Hugnet, Christine Boumeester and Henri Goetz, *La Femme Facile*, (1942)

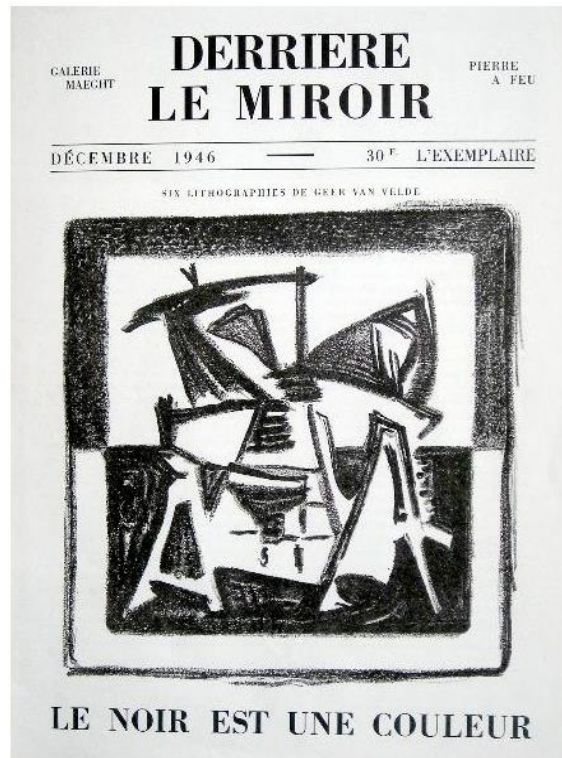


(fig. 31) Man Ray and Paul Eluard, *Les Mains Libres*, (1937)



(fig. 32) Georges Hugnet and Hans Bellmer, *Oeillades ciselées en branche*, (1939)

Chapter Three:



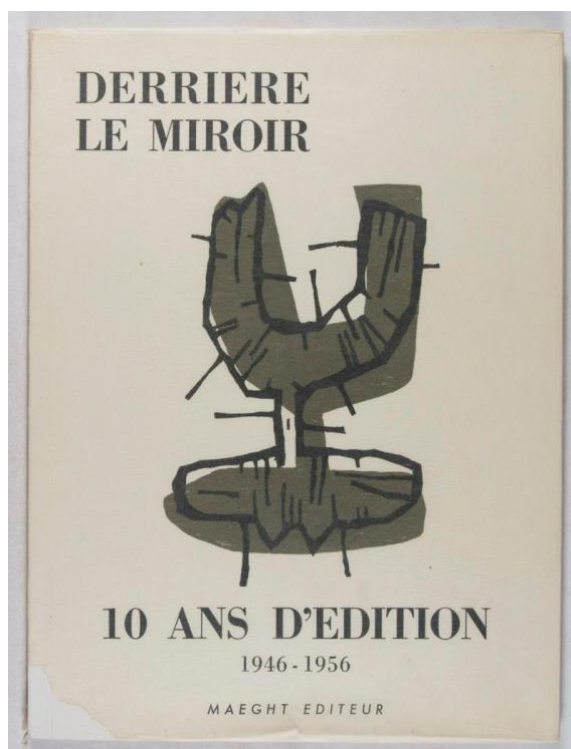
(fig. 1) *Derrière le miroir*, no.1, Le noir est une couleur, October 1946



(fig. 2) André Malraux by Maurice Jarnoux, 1954



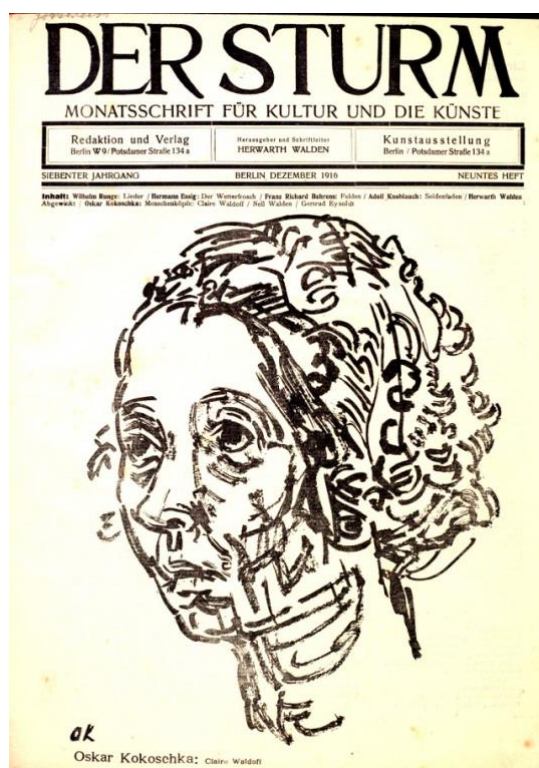
(fig. 3) *Derrière le miroir*, no. 186, *Miró Sculptures* (1970)



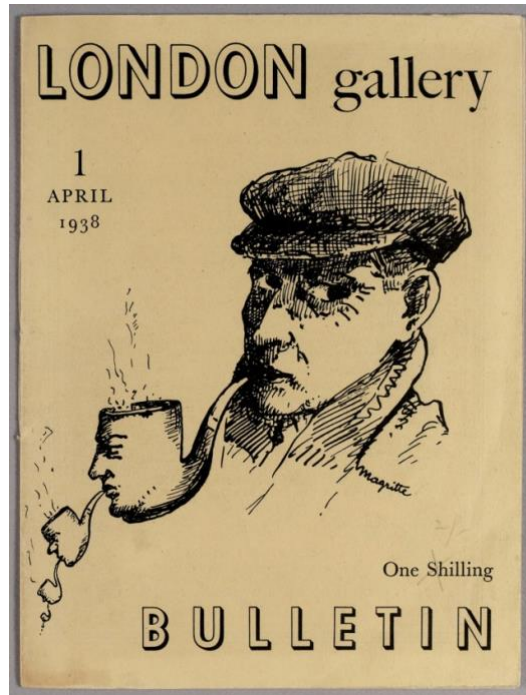
(fig. 4) *Derrière le miroir*, no. 92-93, 10 ans d'éditions: 1946-1956, (1956)



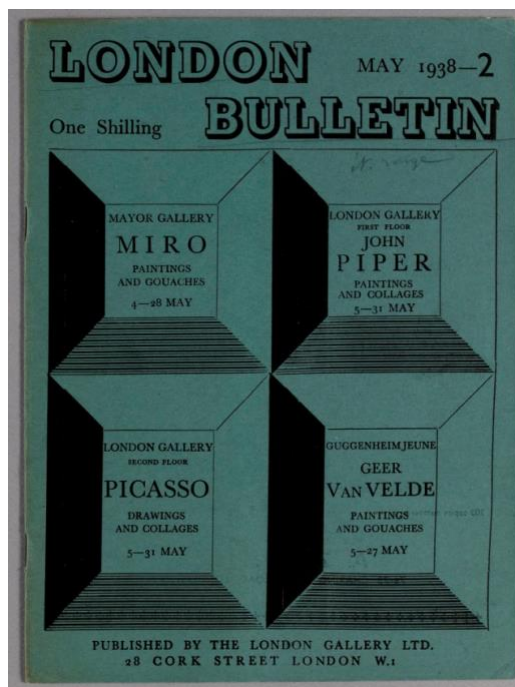
(fig. 5) *Der Querschnitt*, January and April, 1927



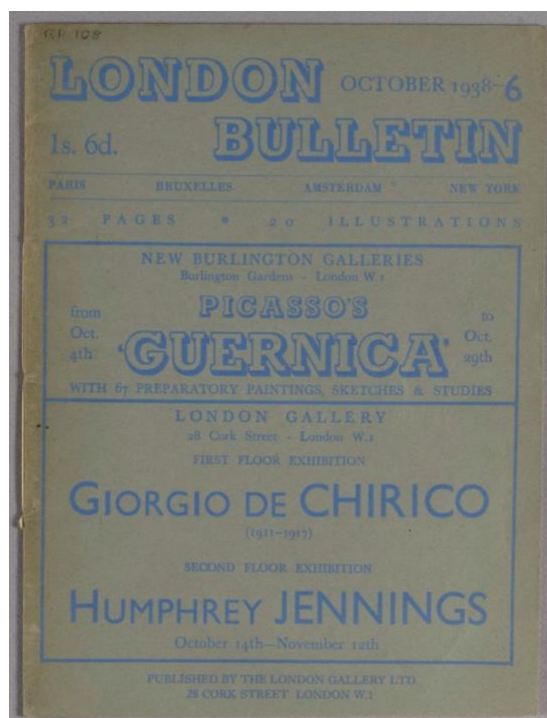
(fig. 6) *Der Sturm*, no. 92-93, 10 ans d'éditions: 1946-1956, (1956)



(fig. 7) *London Gallery Bulletin*, no. 1, April 1938



(fig. 8) *London Gallery Bulletin*, no. 1, April 1938

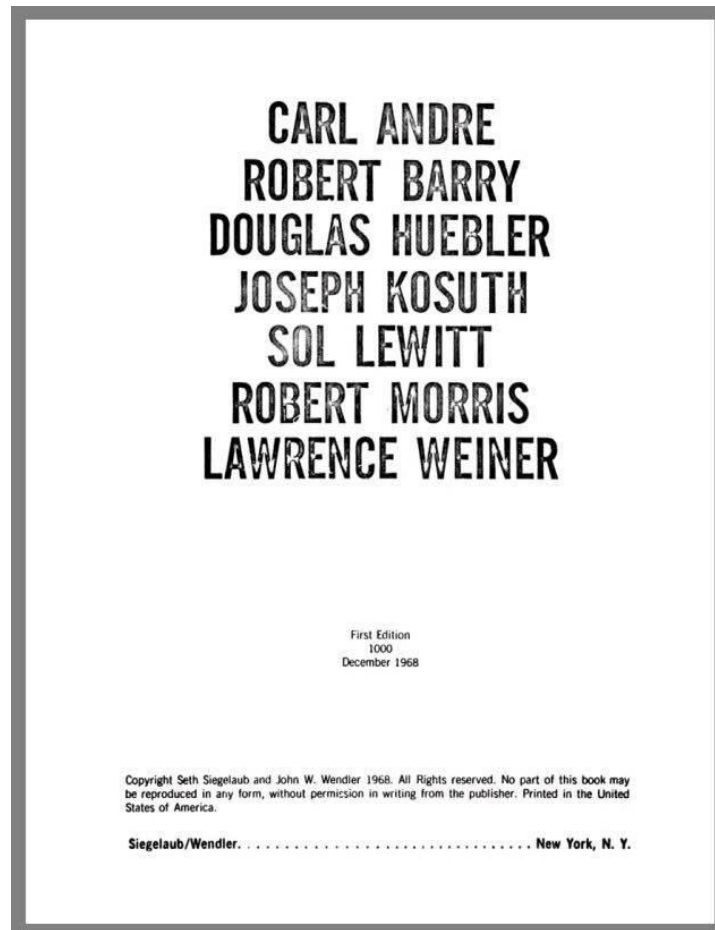


(fig. 9) *London Gallery Bulletin*, no. 1, April 1938

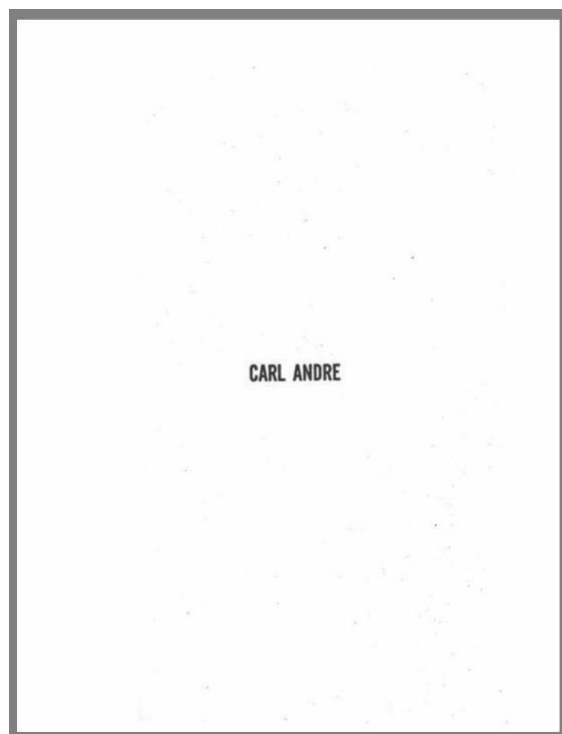


(fig. 10) *iris.time unlimited*, no.1, October 1962

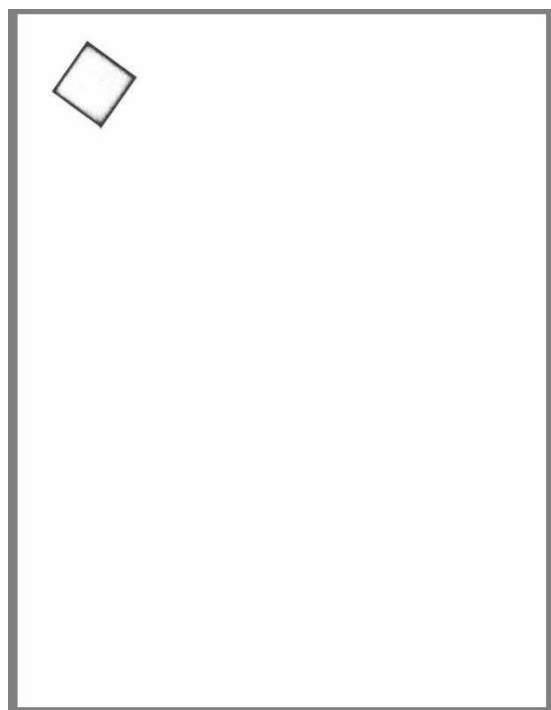
Chapter Four:



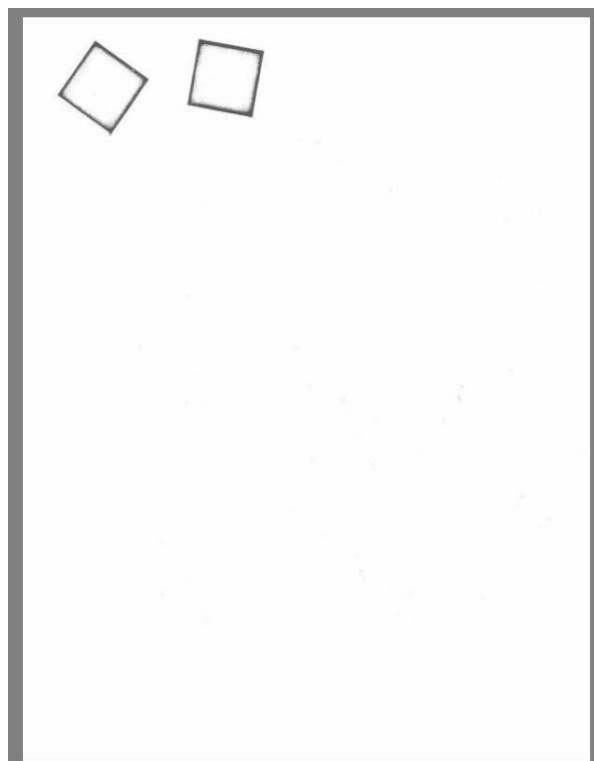
(fig. 1) Title page, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



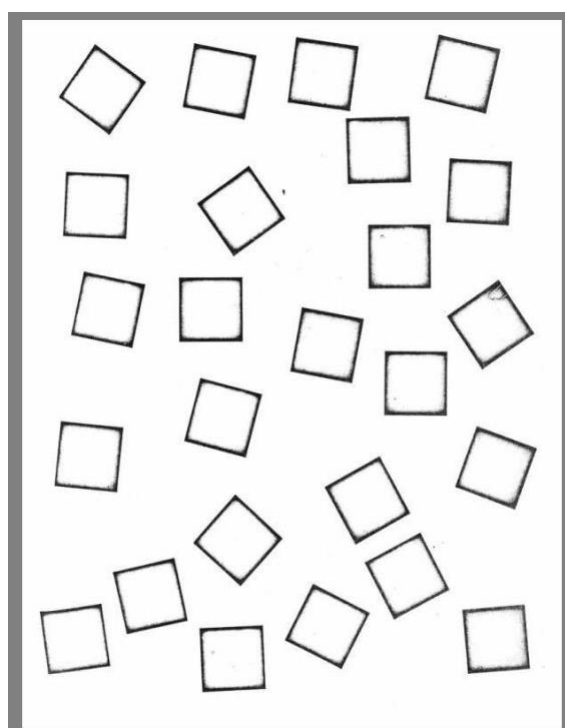
(fig. 2) *Xerox Book*, (1968)



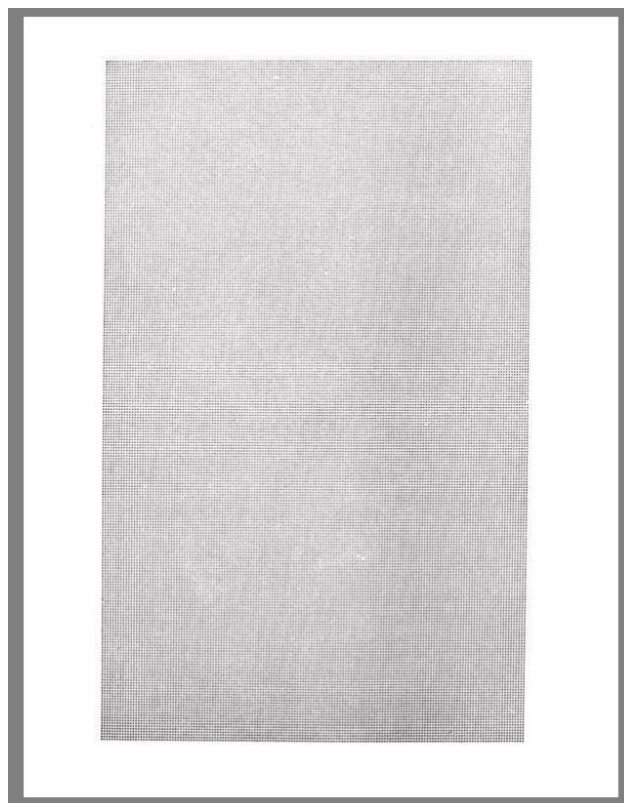
(fig. 3) *Andre*, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



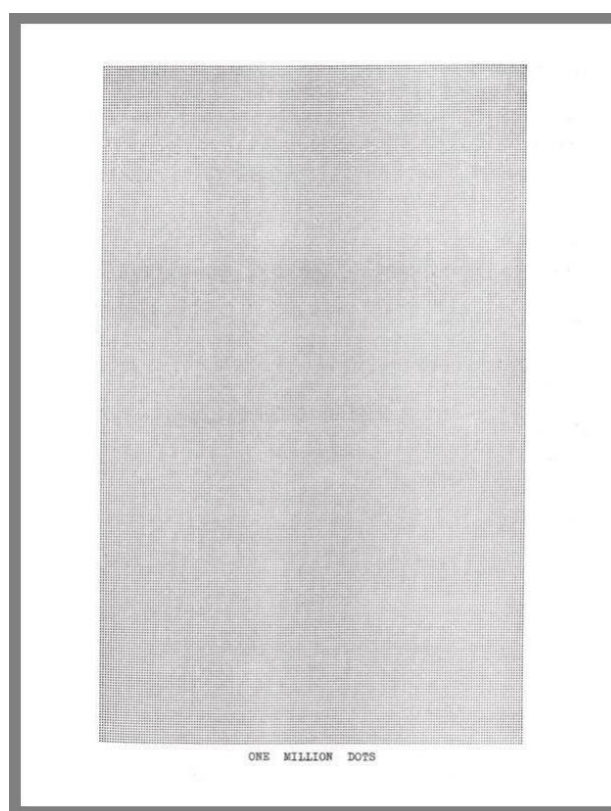
(fig. 4) Andre, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



(fig. 5) Andre, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



(fig. 6) Barry, 'One Million Dots', *Xerox Book*, (1968)



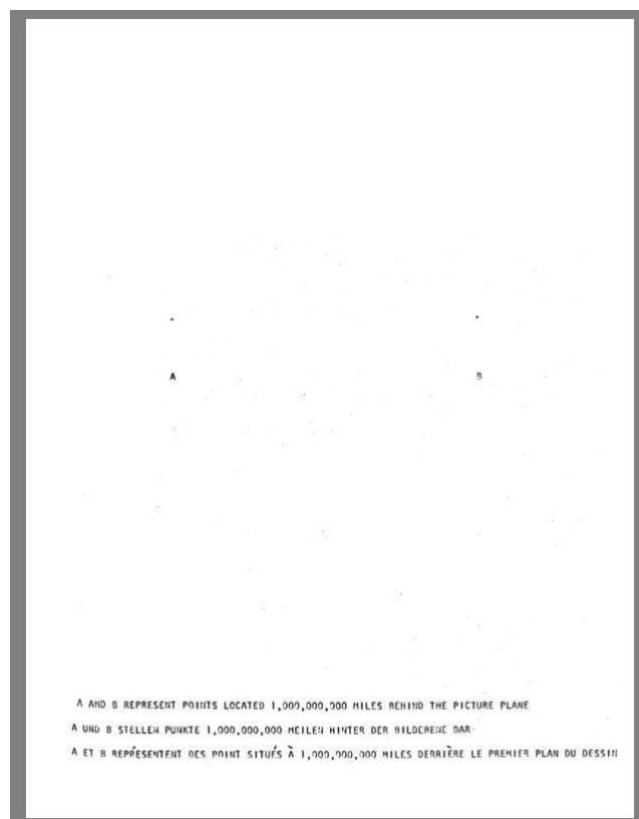
(fig. 7) Barry, 'One Million Dots', *Xerox Book*, (1968)



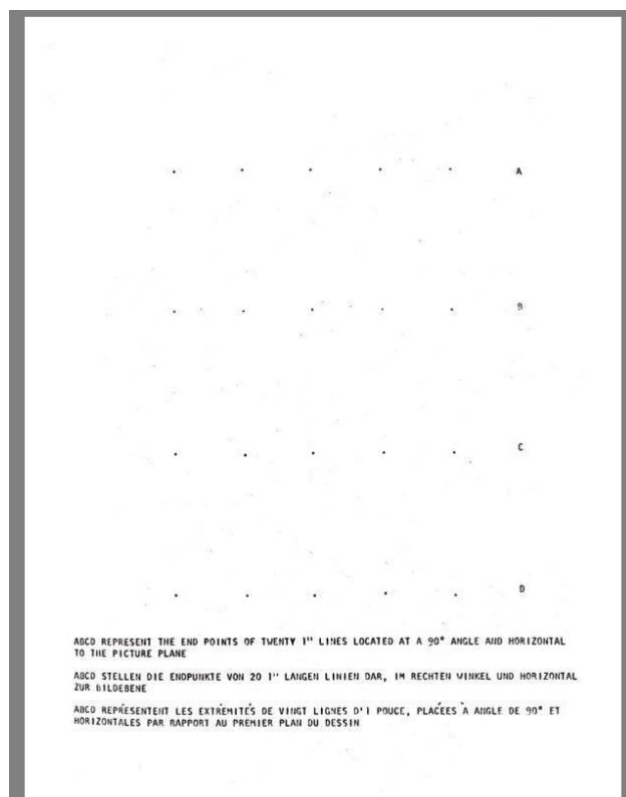
(fig. 8) Huebler, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



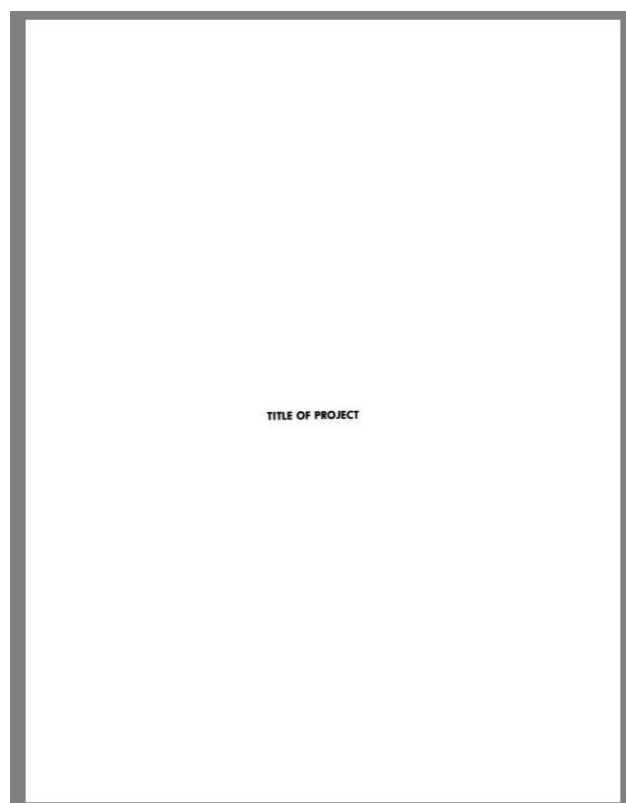
(fig. 9) Huebler, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



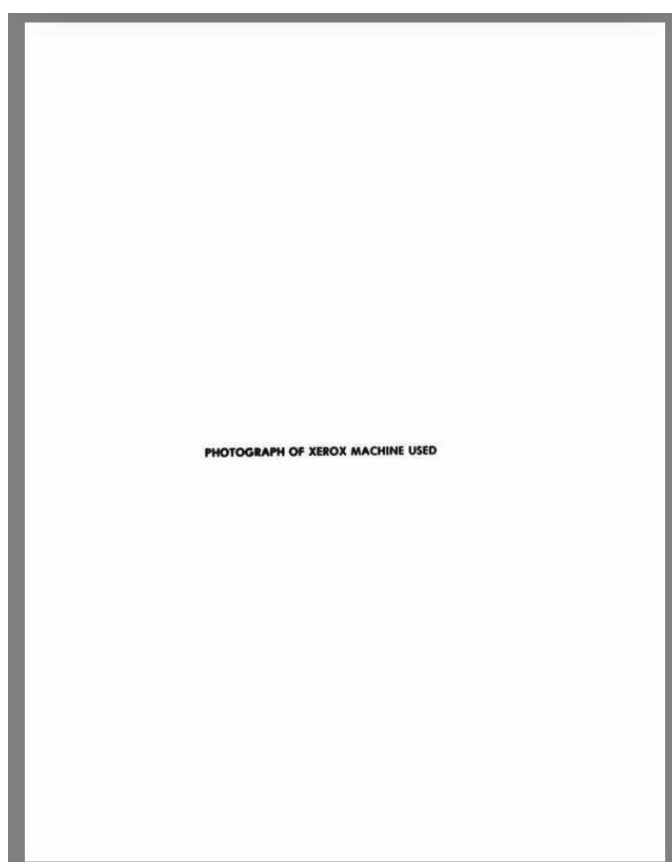
(fig. 10) Huebler, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



(fig. 11) Huebler, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



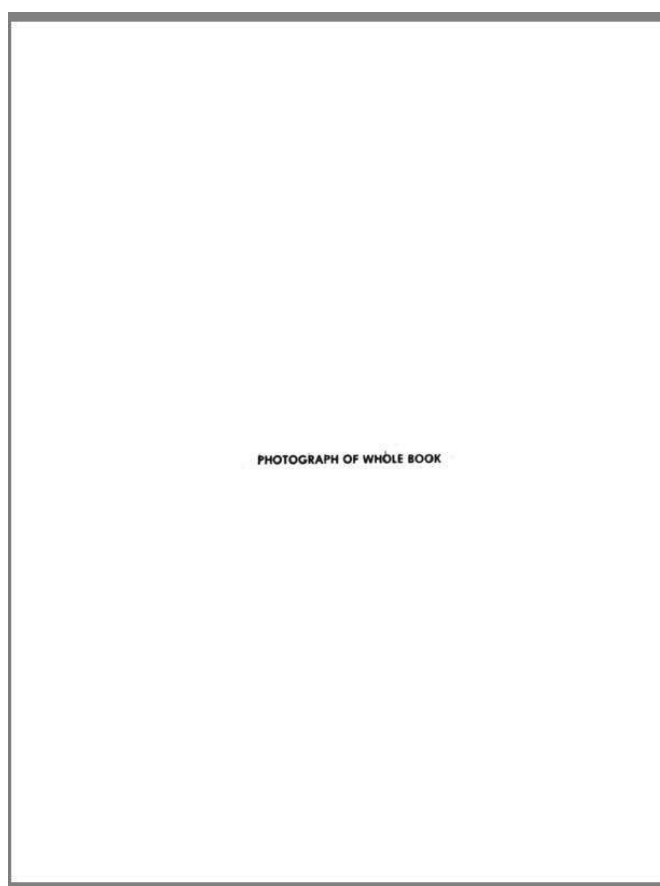
(fig. 12) Kosuth, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



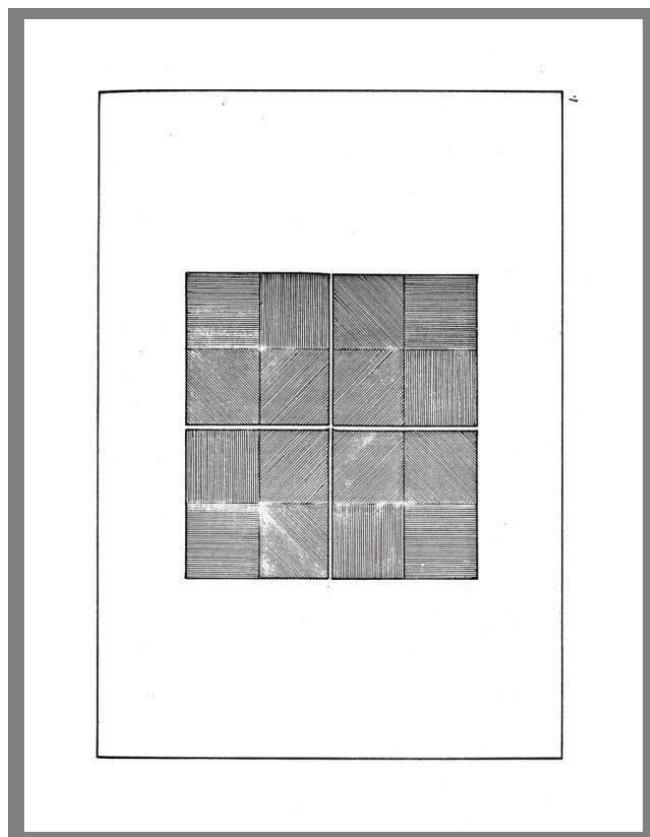
(fig. 13) Kosuth, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



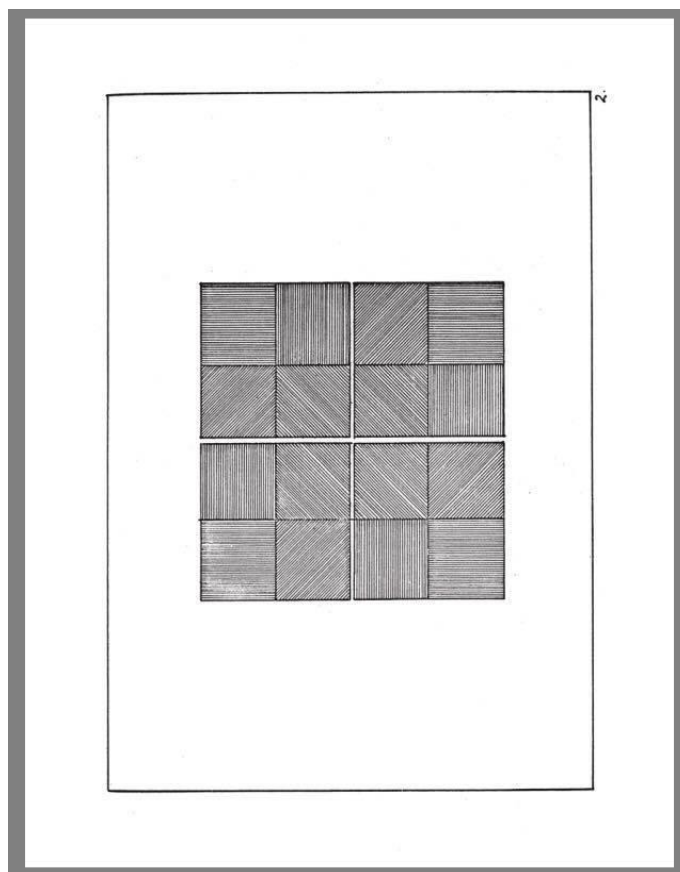
(fig. 14) Kosuth, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



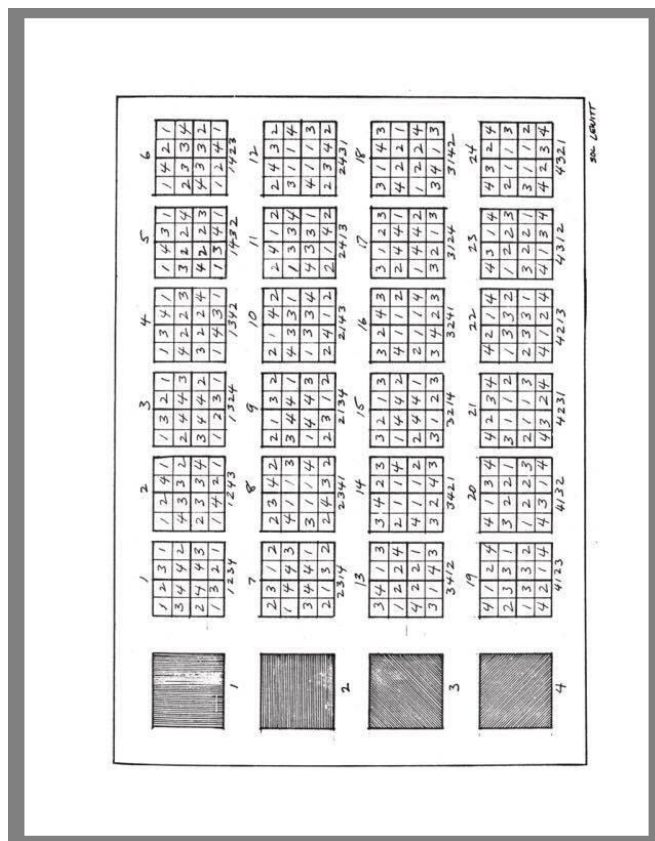
(fig. 15) Kosuth, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



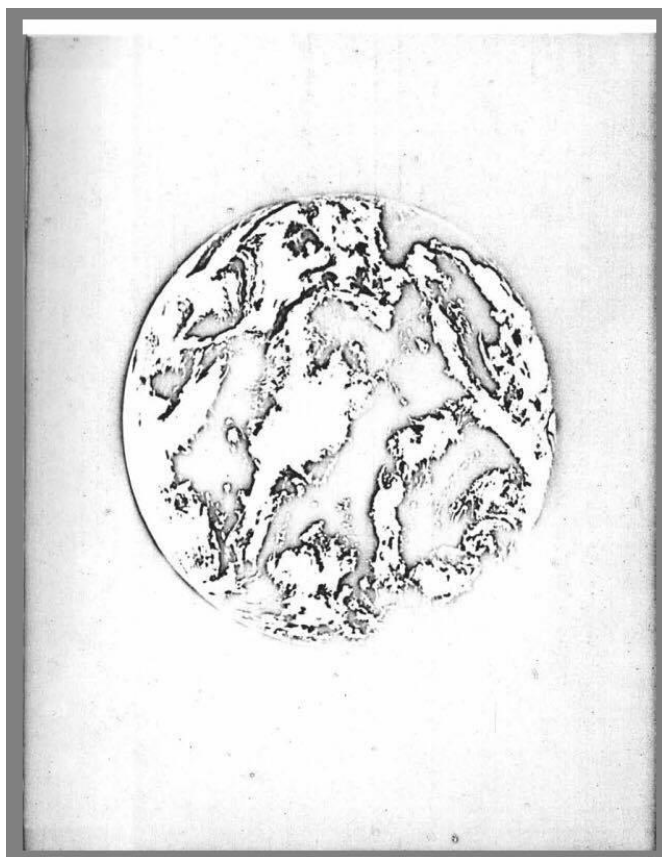
(fig. 16) LeWitt, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



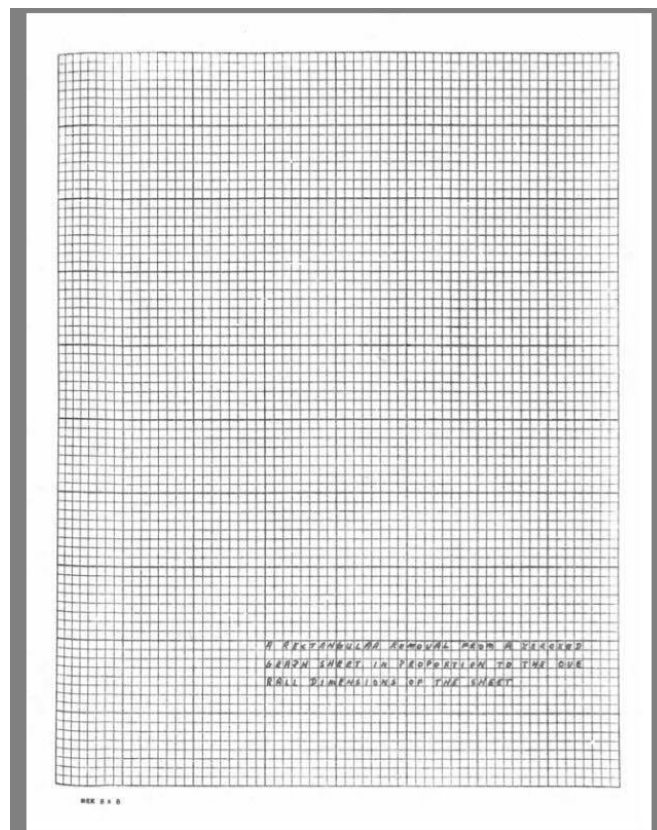
(fig. 17) LeWitt, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



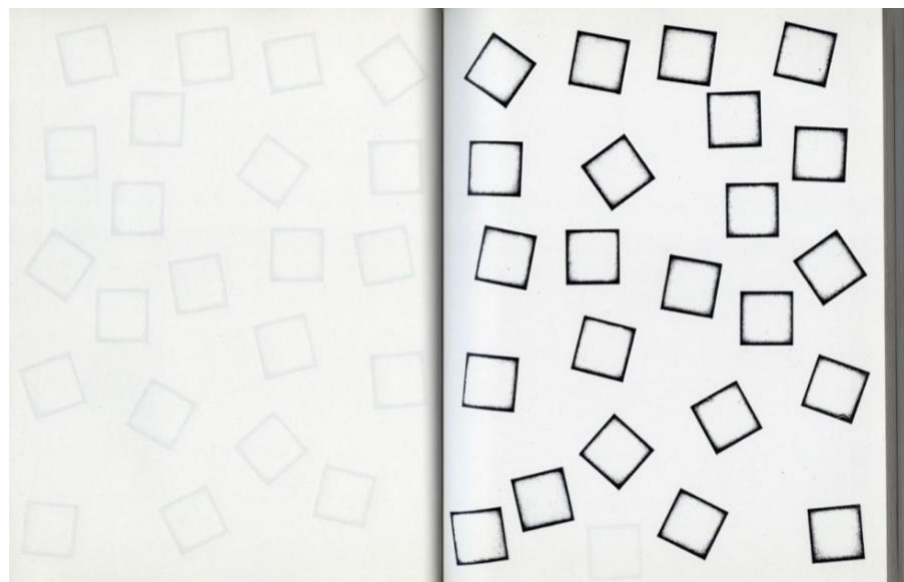
(fig. 18) LeWitt, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



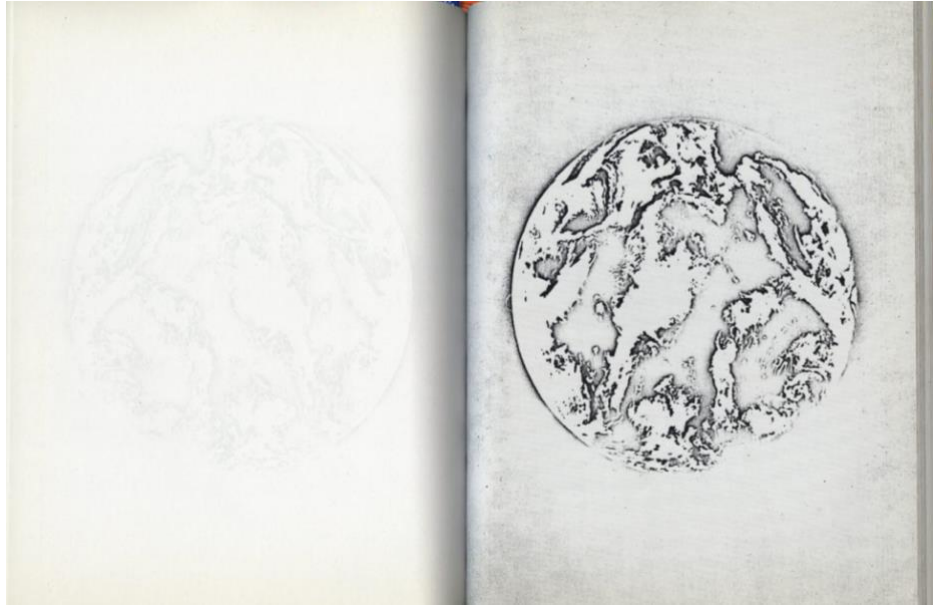
(fig. 19) Morris, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



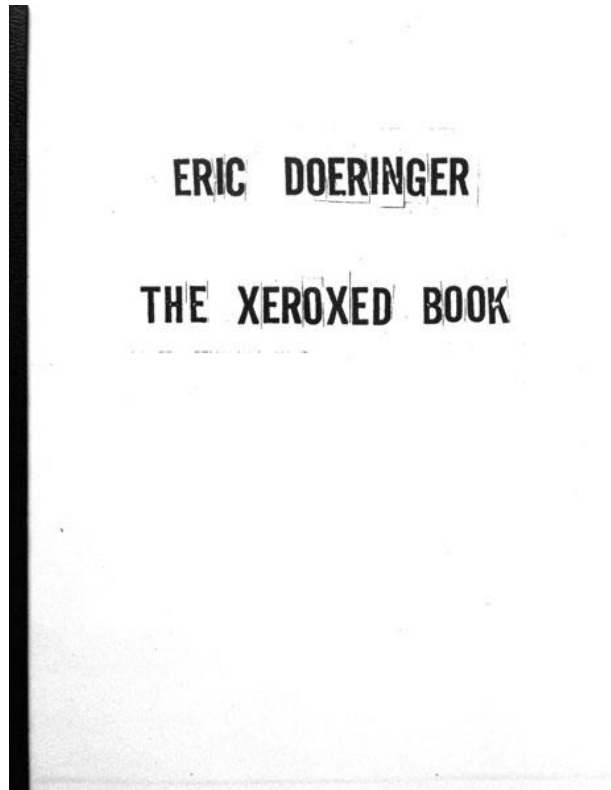
(fig. 20) Weiner, *Xerox Book*, (1968)



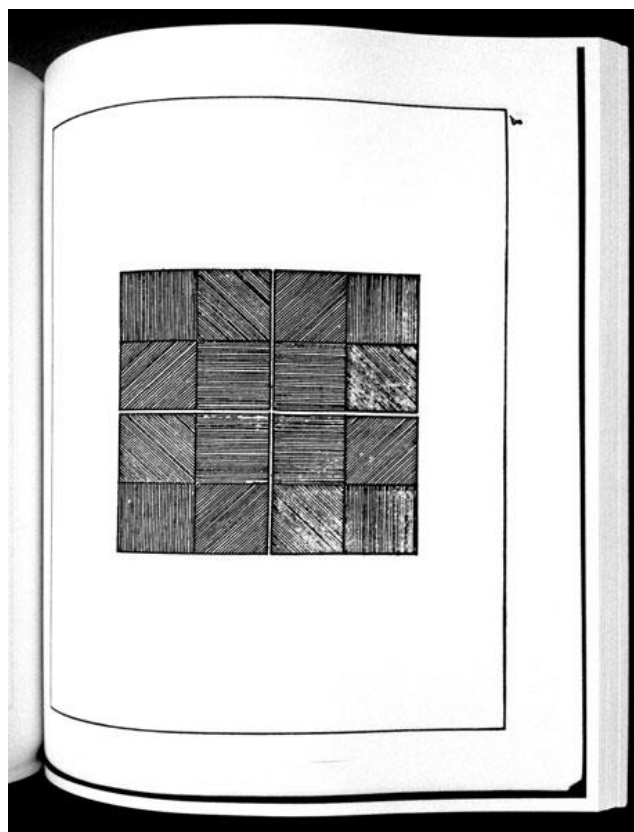
(fig. 21) Rollo Press, *Xerox Book* (2010)



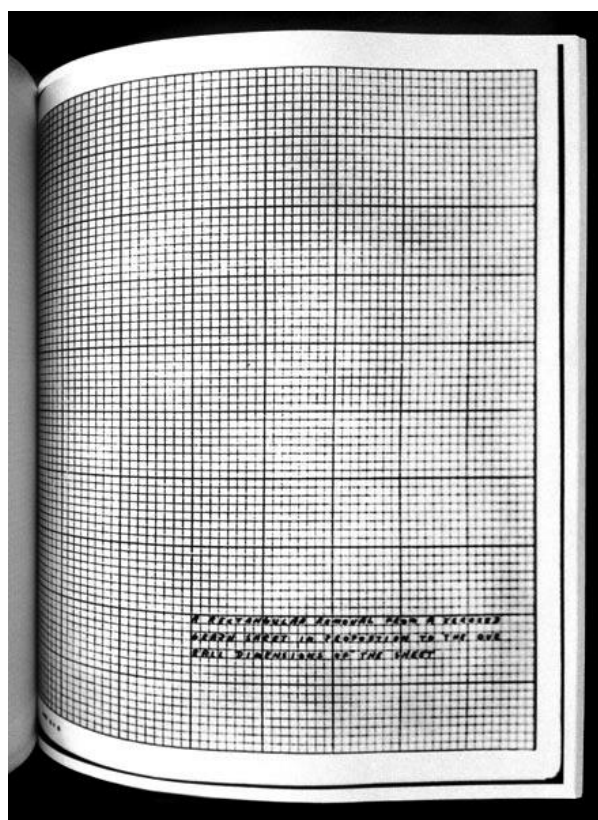
(fig. 22) Rollo Press, *Xerox Book* (2010)



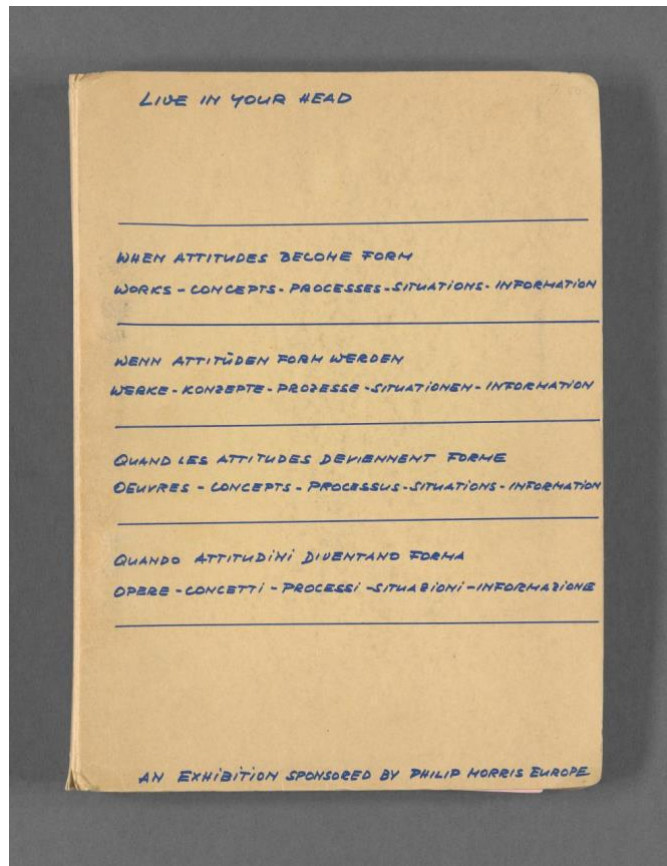
(fig. 23) Doeringer, *The Xeroxed Book*, (2010)



(fig. 24) Doeringer, *The Xeroxed Book*, (2010)



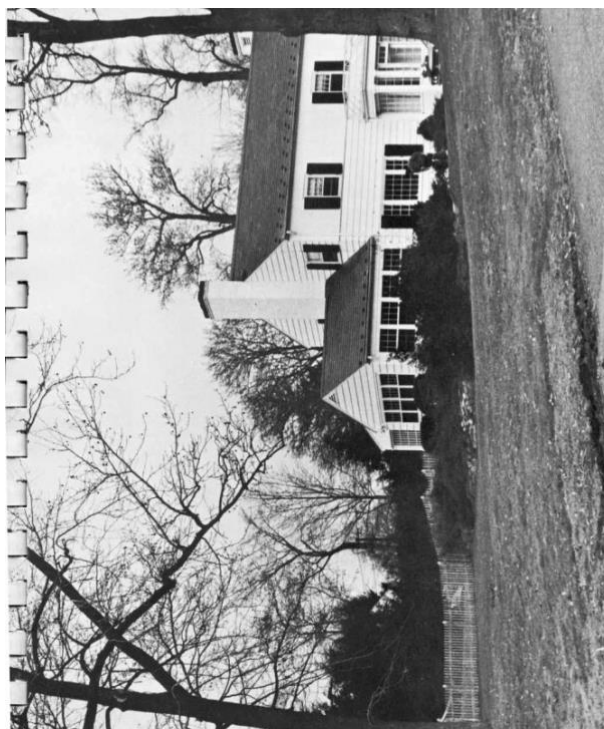
(fig. 25) Doeringer, *The Xeroxed Book*, (2010)



(fig. 26) Exhibition Catalogue for *Live in Your Head, When Attitudes Become Form* at the Kunsthalle Bern, (1969)



(figs. 27 and 28) Beuys, Catalogue box for Museum Mönchengladbach, (1967)



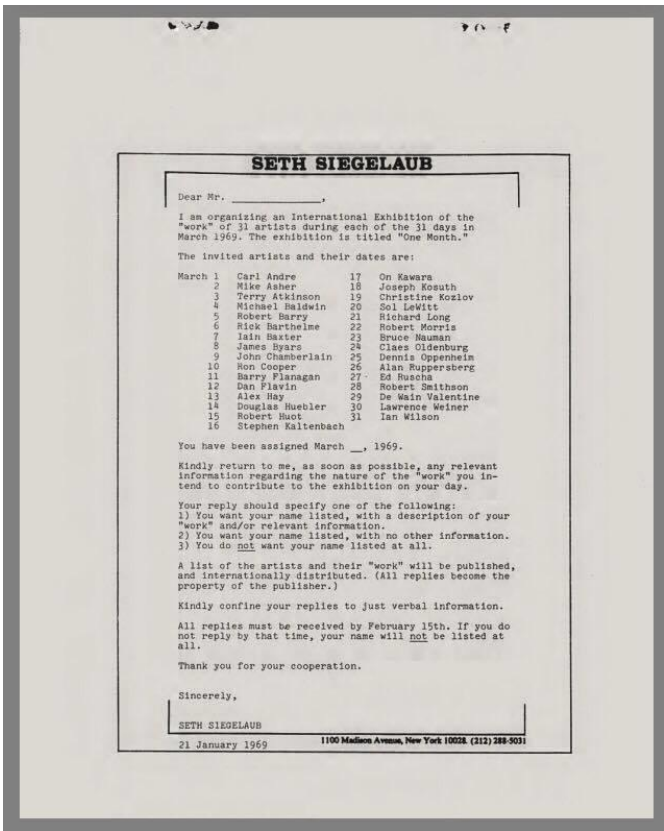
(fig. 29) *January 5 - 31, 1969* (1969)



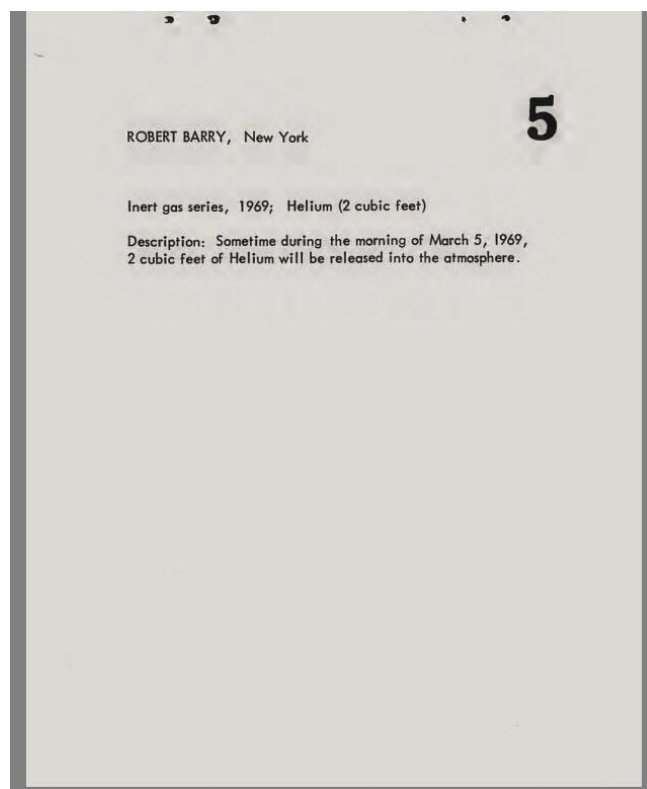
(fig. 30) Rented office space, with the artist Adrian Piper seated at a desk and copies of *January 5 - 31, 1969* (1969) for sale on the table



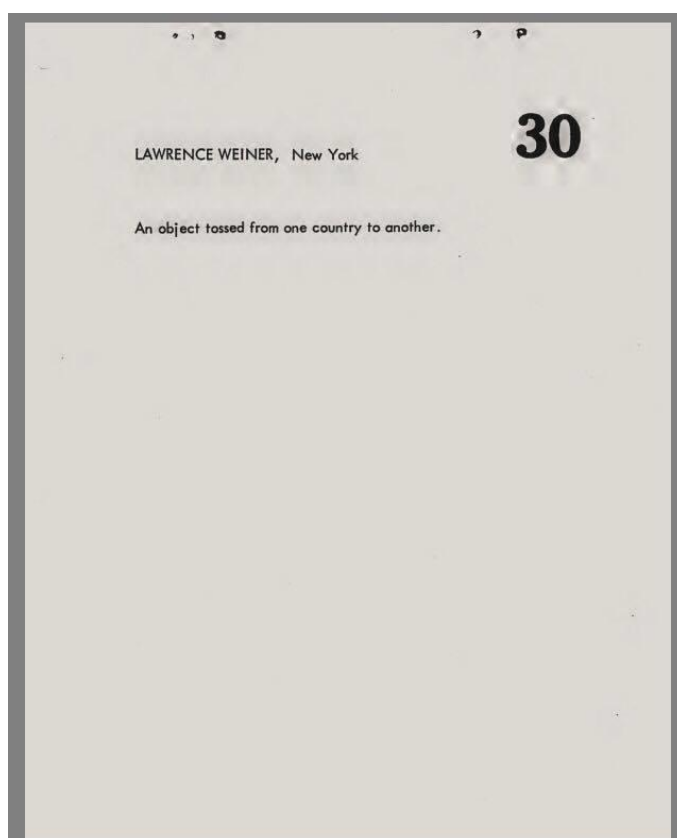
(fig. 31) March 1-31, 1969 (1969)



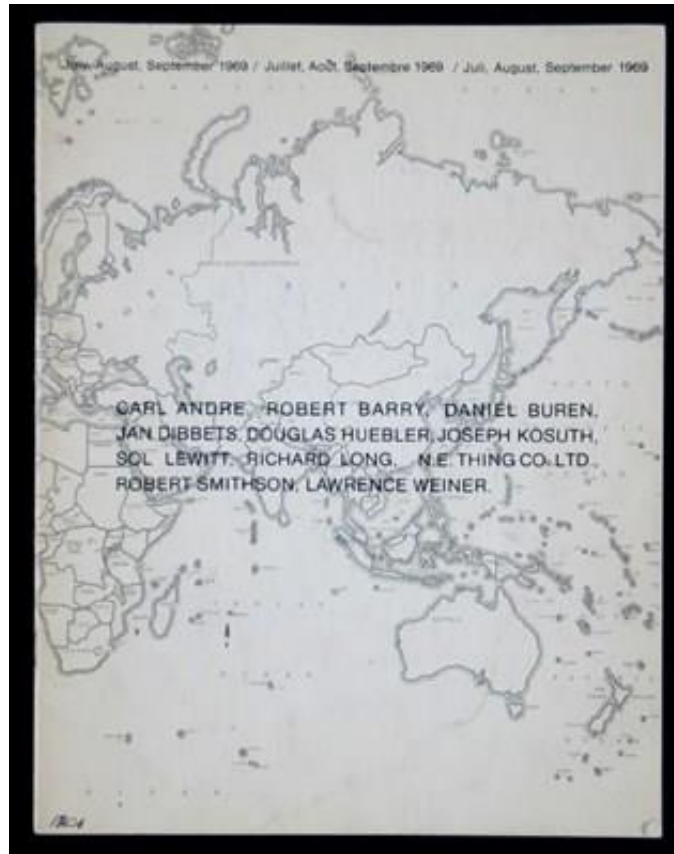
(fig. 32) March 1-31, 1969 (1969)



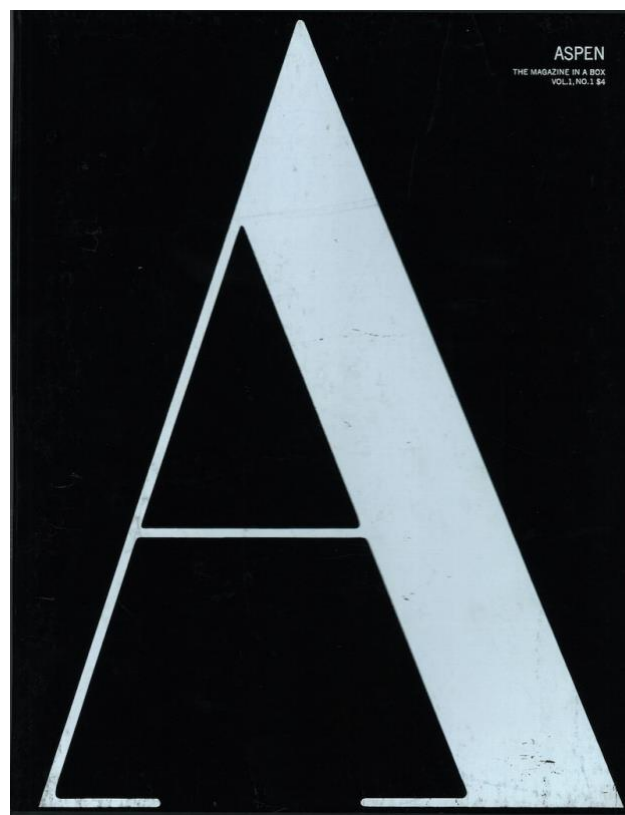
(fig. 33) Barry, *March 1–31, 1969* (1969)



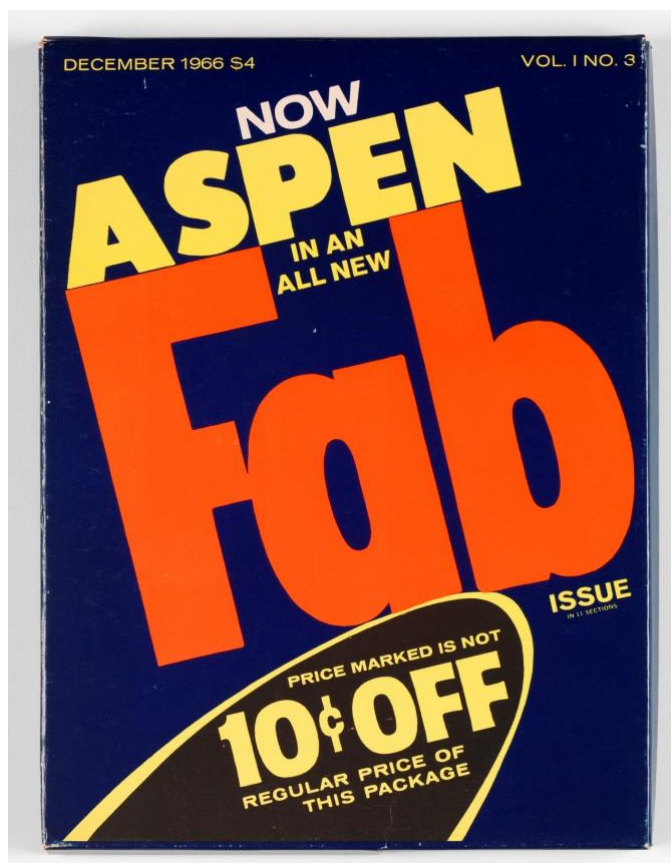
(fig. 34) Weiner, *March 1–31, 1969* (1969)



(fig. 35) *July, August, September, 1969* (1969)



(fig. 36) *Aspen*, Issue 1, (1965)



(fig. 37) *Aspen*, Issue 3, (1966)



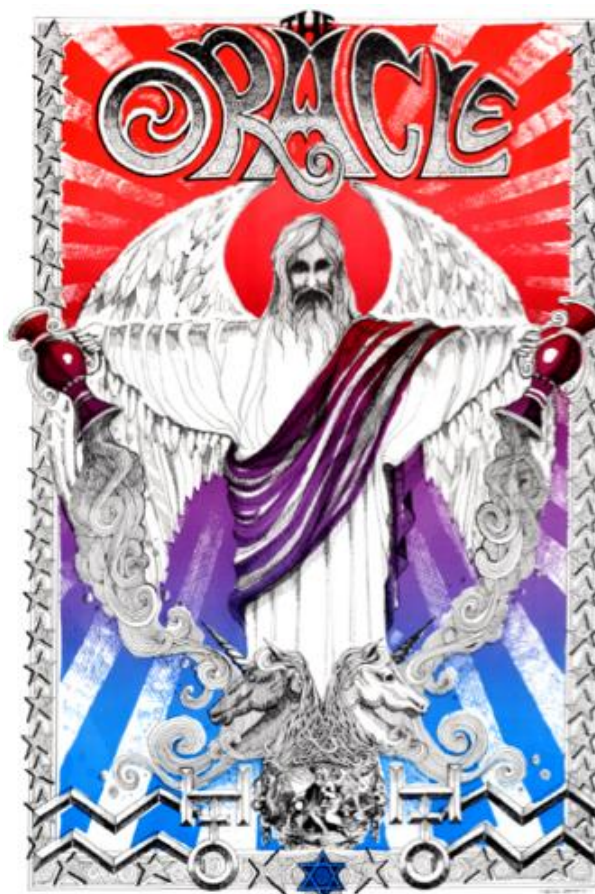
(fig. 38) *Aspen*, Issue 5+6, (1967)



(fig. 39) *S.M.S. (Shit Must Stop)*, Issues 1-6, (1968)



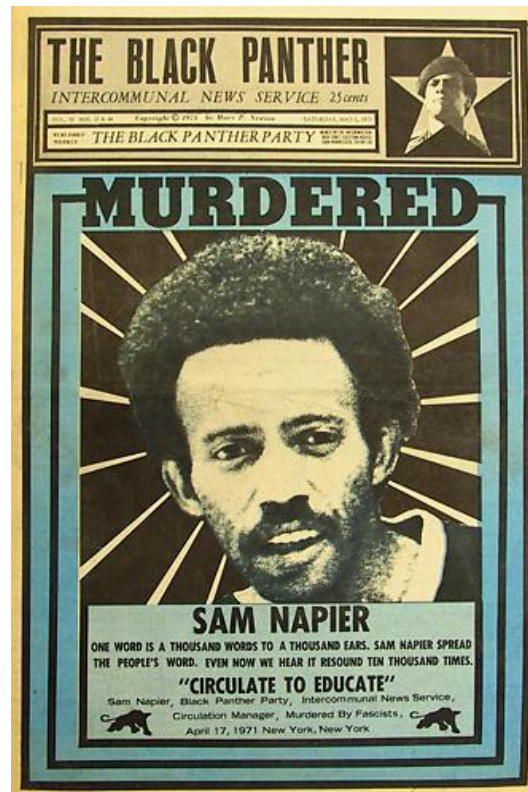
(fig. 40) Picard, *Burned Bow Tie*, *S.M.S.*, Issue 4, (1968)



(fig. 41) *San Francisco Oracle*, Issue 6, (Feb. 1967)



(fig. 42) *Rat: Subterranean News* (c.1968)



(fig. 43) *The Black Panther Paper* (1971)



(fig. 44) Siegel and Projansky, *The Artist's Reserved Rights and Transfer Sale Agreement*, (1971)

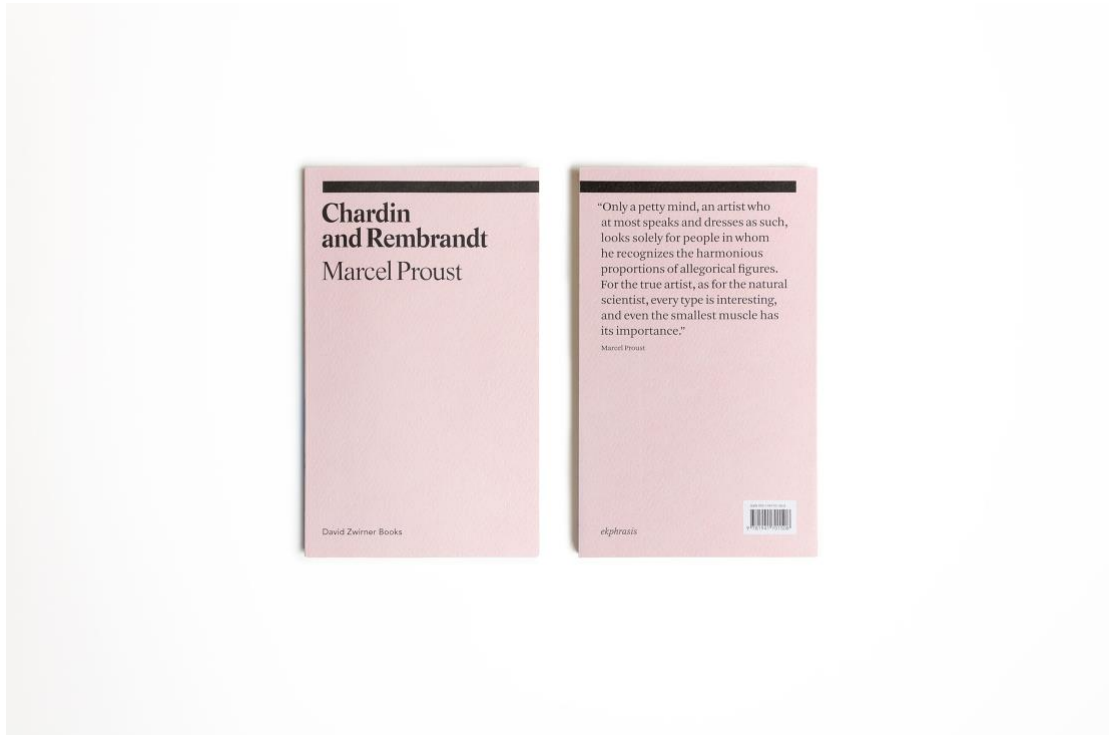
Chapter Five:



(fig. 1) David Zwirner Books, *ekphrasis* series



(fig. 2) Gauguin, *Ramblings of a Wannabe Painter*, 2016



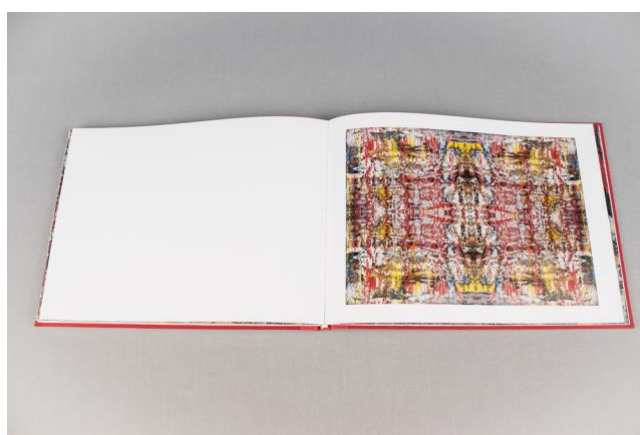
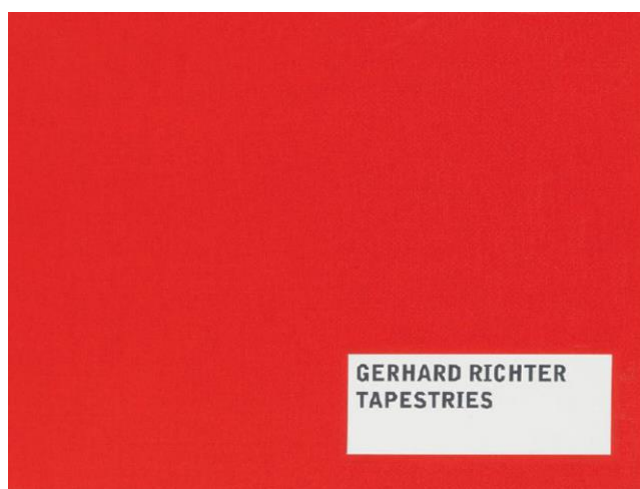
(fig. 3) Marcel Proust, *Chardin and Rembrandt*, 2016



(fig. 4) Vernon Lee, *The Psychology of an Art Writer*, 2018



(fig. 5) Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, *Pissing Figures*, 2017



(figs. 6 and 7) *Gerhard Richter: Tapestries*, Gagosian, 2013



(fig. 8) *Yellow Window*, White Cube, 2002



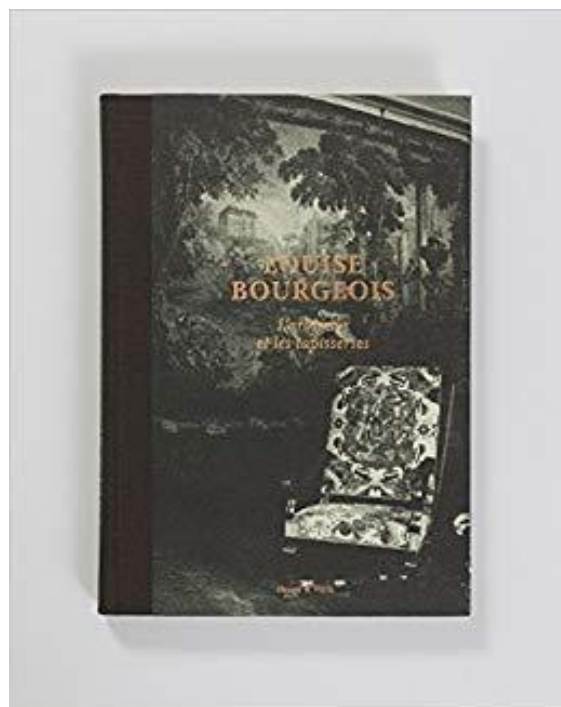
(fig. 9) *Lions and Unicorns & Night Time*, White Cube, 2014



(figs. 10 and 11) *You Left Me Breathing*, Gagosian, 2007



(fig. 12) *Phyllida Barlow: Fifty Years of Drawings*, Hauser & Wirth, 2014



(figs. 13 and 14) *L'araignée et les tapisseries*, Hauser & Wirth, 2014

Appendix I

In conversation with Lucas Zwirner, Edinburgh, 15 May 2018

Allan Madden (AM): Would you mind talking a little about how the *ekphrasis* series came about? And why you chose the texts to be the first two in the series?

Lucas Zwirner (LZ): Sure. I think my background was, I studied literature, comparative literature, French and German literature and philosophy; I studied some classics as well at Yale and I think that because my background was much more literary when the opportunity to be part of the Gallery came about, it somehow seemed, it felt right to make it a book-oriented thing. About a year before I had started we had officially created the publishing house, which just meant that we incorporated a separate company called David Zwirner Books and that separate company was responsible for bringing out books. The Gallery had been publishing books since its inception - as you've seen from many gallery publishers, we made catalogues but not with the degree of focus, not with global distribution, so the thing that really changed initially was getting global distribution of the books that were published. My mandate when I began, I joined as editor and then subsequently became editorial director but as editor [my role] was to come up with projects that fell outside of the scope, of the immediate scope, of the Gallery's publishing operations. So, how do you come up with something that's not art but is art related? And in a way it was a natural fit because I had studied philosophy, you know aesthetic philosophy alongside French and German literature and I felt that was the thing I was going to make the least - make the fewest mistakes on - as I stepped into it. And I also had all the right contacts, and I'll maybe talk about that a little bit later, but so much of publishing a series like that is keeping your ear to the ground and really listening to the people like you, or someone who's studying this field who says 'you know what, there's a book you should really take a look at', and then you take a look at it and then you decide to publish it. I mean, you really are a facilitator - and I am the first person to say that the best ideas have basically come from other people. And I have only accepted them, vetted them and decided which ones to run with. In very rare cases have I been then one who's said 'oh this was my brilliant idea'. I'm not taking anything away from myself, but that's the truth.

AM: It's quite common with the editorial role that people are coming to you, desperately, coming to you with all of these ideas and your role is more then selecting what you think is going to work best.

LZ: Yes, and I think it's less that people are coming desperately - in this case, especially in the case of the series, because the series is so eccentric in a way, and esoteric - it's more that people are coming with interesting ideas, and often the prompt that I give to people is 'what is the thing that you couldn't get published anywhere else, and I'd like to publish that', basically. And you often get the best projects if you really ask for exactly that. Many of the books we've published would have had no chance of being published anywhere else. A few of them would have - I can't believe that we got them, and probably really should have been published somewhere else. Like, the Rilke book, letters to Balthus [sic] - that it hadn't been translated and dealt with by a major publishing house was totally strange to me. But, you know, the *Pissing Figures* book by Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, which is our bestseller in the series, is not a book that anyone else wanted to touch. So, it

became, looking at what we already did well, we made illustrated catalogues really well, we had good relationships with lots of writers and how could we bring things, do something that was more text focused without giving up on the image, as it were, as the focal point. I also think... I always loved *ekphrastic* writing, I mean obviously its history, it begins with the Illiad, it begins with a description of the shield – whether or not that's true is beside the point, what is true is that something has happened, some kind of idealised encounter is captured there which gives narrative content to an aesthetic object, like the shield, and I think that idea of narrating experiences with art, creating ideal experiences in prose is extremely important. Most of us do not have idealised experiences with art. Most of the time, we wander through a museum and it doesn't happen. It's not a hit, it's not a great moment, it's not an inspiration – but sometimes it happens, but the more you understand that it can happen, the more one opens oneself up to the possibility of it happening. So, in a way the first two books were quite important, this early essay by Proust is a classic example of this kind of idealised experience; it's first person, it's Proust walking through the Louvre having these ecstatic experiences with very static and, in some cases, very quiet objects, for Chardin, and at the end this sort of spiritual dimension with Rembrandt. That came through a man I had studied with, Peter Cole a great poet translator at Yale – he's still teaching there – and the other one came through a French academic Donatien Grau, *The Ramblings of a Wannabe Painter*, which is a pretty aggressive translation of the title; I supported him doing that. And that's a kind of screed basically that Gauguin wrote at the end of his life. It began fortuitously, you had in one case an artist going nuts against the art world of his time and writing beautifully about certain artists and art works of his time; on the other hand one of the great literary writers, you know, ever, engaging with works of art. So, in a way, I got lucky with those first two books, which kind of set the stage and opened up both directions – it opened up the literary direction and the visual direction. Since then it's gone from there. It started because my mandate was to do things that felt outside the range of the Gallery.

AM: I'm really interested in this idea of what could not get published elsewhere because what I've found in my research, historically is that working with gallerists in particular as your publisher allowed a degree of experimentation that artists really couldn't afford elsewhere. Larger publishing houses would insist on print runs that an artist simply couldn't accommodate financially. Working with a gallerist, and also a gallerist (a dealer) who knows, someone like Vollard and Kahnweiler, who know Picasso's work so well can say to him 'why don't you try etching', why don't you illustrate the work of another writer'. It introduces a fun degree of experimentation in an artist's oeuvre as well.

LZ: And that something that we're experimenting with, whether it's the artists notebooks - we're working on a notebook with Sherrie Levine that she's designing, it'll be a notebook but will be kind of Sherrie Levine's notebook. It's this idea of giving artists another platform to play and I think that's an extension directly of what you're saying – giving artists this other way to engage with their practice which comes through books.

AM: Another thing that I look at is the idea of the democratisation of the art experience because when we think about people's relationship with the contemporary art market but even historically in terms of shows and things like that, it's an elitist, perhaps, an elitist activity, and so by allowing the art work to have a different kind of life beyond the confines of the gallery within the book format allows that, what André Malraux referred to as the museum without walls, or the imaginary museum.

So there's eight titles in the series, and you're planning on –

LZ: And we have two more coming out in the Fall, and two more in the Spring [...] but it will be four a year until... I decide to do something else, I guess. But again, that's really just one part, I mean I am very involved in that part, I'm micromanaging the most but while those are four books I usually have 20 other books I have to worry about a year.

AM: Well that's true, its roughly two a month, 25 a year that you're bringing out? So the definition of *ekphrasis* that you work within, when I'm looking at your website, is... there's the traditional definition which people like Heffernan and Mitchell ascribe to, which is the literary representation of works of visual art – so literary representation of visual representation, but you work within the broader interpretation of one art form – whether that be writing, visual art, music or film – being used to define or describe another art form, and bringing the audience the experiential and the visceral impact of the subject. So I'm wondering as well, one of the things that I was thinking about is the exhibition catalogue itself seems like a very appropriate site for *ekphrastic* writing because the exhibition catalogue almost mediates the viewers experience of an exhibition. It has a function within the exhibition space by expanding upon, or explaining, or describing or responding to what the viewer is seeing within an exhibition. But exhibitions are ephemeral, they're fleeting things; works come together and then they disperse back to their individual private collections, so it also provides a memory of that as well.

LZ: You know, it's funny, the other thing I would say is another origin story of the *ekphrasis* series is probably that most exhibition catalogues do not contain good *ekphrastic* writing; they are sites of anti-*ekphrastic* writing. They are sites of pedantic, misguided, jargon-heavy stuff. I was never particularly interested in reading catalogues, except for a few important essays, I didn't care much for what was written in catalogues. And so one idea was how do you get – there's all this great writing happening about art, it's just lost in all these catalogues and there's so many bad ones so how do you dredge up the good stuff and foreground it? And how do you isolate certain essays and say this is worth taking seriously on its own, this is one of the better things. That's a sort of curatorial, editorial role. I would say that was another strong motivation – that I wasn't excited by catalogues, and even now when I think about catalogues I really try to think 'how can the writer and the art work interact in a way that is mutually exciting, in the sense that is *ekphrastic* in each aspect illuminating something about the other or heightening the experience of the other. Hilton Als did this catalogue for us on Alice Neel, a very non-traditional catalogue in which he wrote personal reflections on thirteen paintings throughout the catalogue, and that was much more interesting to me than 'plate, plate, plate, plate, essay, plate, plate, plate, plate', which is how every gallery/museum does their catalogues.

AM: I'm wondering if that touches on something I was going to ask about later, which is the relationship and element of input and control that an artist has over a particular project, so for the 20 other books that you're publishing, whether they be monographs or catalogues or artists' books, is there an element to which that traditional exhibition catalogue format, which you say is very bad in terms of *ekphrastic* writing, is far better in terms of canon formation? Often, you'll have essays by art historians or critics, which are saying 'this is why this person's works are important' and casts it within a historical light and says 'this is why this follows this', and so I wonder if there's an element, or have you found in your experience as

an editorial director, that artists are coming to you with 'this is the academic/critic that I want to write about my work because I feel that they get it more than anyone else'?

LZ: Yes, it happens all the time.

AM: And is there ever any push back from you on that, in terms of you disagreeing? Is there a risk that the catalogue becomes a tool to flatter the artist?

LZ: Yes. Sometimes I have to say 'I don't think that's a good idea', or 'I think we need to think a little outside the box'. I think you're right that historically canon formation has happened in a very traditional way. It's happened with catalogue raisonnés, it's happened through the most famous or most renowned art historians engaging with an artist's work, and usually behind all of that is someone who has written extensively about a period in history deciding to write about contemporary art. And by deciding to write on a specific painter living today they're basically saying that this painter is worth writing about in the same way it is worth writing about Picasso. Artists know that, they smell that and they like it, and artists want to be written about by those people but that doesn't mean that those people should not be encouraged to write in a way that opens the work up to as wide an audience as possible. The problem there, and the thing that I usually end up doing when I really get into the nitty gritty of editing (which now that I've got a wonderful team I probably do a little less of than when I started three years ago) is looking at the prose and saying 'who can read this?', 'who can really read this?' and if the answer is very, very few people then the prose is going to need a lot of work. I've worked with, and that's the thing about being a diplomat, you have to tell the person that the ideas are interesting, and rich, and that you understand what they're trying to say but that they need to find another way to phrase it. I think with artists it's the same thing, you say 'I understand you want Benjamin Buchloh to write in his book but let's find someone else who tempers that or adds something that could bring a different audience into the picture.

AM: For instance, we could have that Buchloh essay but we might also have something that's more of a personal reflection –

LZ: - by a great writer, who, they may not be canonise you in the sense that Buchloh would, but they can canonise you with an audience that you otherwise don't have access to.

AM: It is interesting that, because I guess – and I'm skipping ahead a little bit, so I might come back – one of the things that I encountered very early on when I was looking at contemporary exhibition catalogues (and because its commercial galleries that I'm looking at, art dealers and their publishing practice) is what I termed the 'Krauss Critique'. Rosalind Krauss and other *October* critics have, in previous famous round table discussions that they've had, dismiss publishing by commercial galleries, particularly in relation to exhibition catalogues as being glorified marketing tools, the suspicion being, of course, that commercial galleries and gallerists would never offer space for objective criticism given the obvious financial stakes involved in the relationships between gallerists and artists. So it's interesting to hear you say that, actually, an artist may come to you saying 'I want this person to write about my work because they will write about how important I am and how [for want of a better word] collectible I ought to be, how my work ought to be within certain collections, how its historically important' and that you might push back on that a little because that's obviously... What I was going to ask

is that this Rosalind Krauss critique struck me as a little hollow because I feel like there's far more going on within the pages of an exhibition catalogue, there's far more levels of engagement beyond the level of criticism they're talking about going on within the pages of the catalogue, and the kind of bias they're referring to (I mean this is to assume that they've never provided essays, which they all have – I found examples by every single one of them) and –

LZ: You want to find a critic that's sympathetic to the artist; that goes without saying. Why would you – and interestingly, we have a catalogue coming out with Kerry James Marshall and he asked for Benjamin Buchloh precisely because he thought that Buchloh didn't like his work, and he wanted Buchloh to try to engage in some way. And I thought that was pretty interesting. Kerry James Marshall is also in a place where basically he can handle anything – if someone writes something bad about him, it's ok, he's canon now. But then we also – I said to him, what about if we add someone else like Teju Cole or someone unexpected who will temper what is a much more traditional voice, and that he liked and so we brought that in. But, the part of that argument that is totally hollow to me is its coming from a place and a time when the universities were providing this service, they were providing space for this critical, interesting writing but the moment you are under real financial pressure as a publisher you're going to make a lot of concessions. And we are under some financial pressure but that isn't our core business, our business is selling art, so it gives us breathing room to actually do things that are much more interesting than what another publisher, I think in my cases, would do. Even Phaidon are stepping back, you know there was a minute when Taschen found the model and Benedikt Taschen was making a lot of money doing books like this and those days are over too. So we're all having to rethink how this thing works. I think the answer is, it's never going to be lots of money for anyone but I'm gambling on the fact that if you do this really well, brand it well, do really good things and people trust us, that more and more people will come to us with publishing projects and it will sustain itself. The nice thing is, it doesn't need to – it needs to make a little bit of money, it doesn't need to make a tonne of money but if you make it really about quality and it's niche and you have a core group of collectors and buyers who are engaging with the work, and then when you do things like the *ekphrasis* series other projects come along. Like now, I have academics who want us to do their selected essays, or their collected essays or other artists want to catalogue raisonnés with us. So there are many things that come out of this.

AM: This strikes me almost that, as you say, the commercial gallerists, because the principal focus is on selling art, there is a level of freedom there actually that flies in the face of that criticism that Krauss and others have lobbed at gallerists. One of the things they overlook is that a curator at a public gallery who brings an artist's work to that gallery, and wants it in a catalogue is evangelical about that artist's work, wants to talk about how important that artist's work is in the exact same way that an art dealer would be about artists they choose to represent; an art dealer chooses to represent an artist because they believe in the work they represent as well. I think that's a level that is far too easily skipped over when we're talking about gallerists' publishing, it's too easy to say well, the catalogues are there (as Krauss would say) as a glorified marketing tool. And it struck me as well that *ekphrastic* writing and the *ekphrasis* series offers another approach to critical debate between writing visual art, a level of engagement that is quite detached from an element of financial worth; it's very different from I guess what Krauss and the other *October* critics were doing was what comes naturally to a lot of people, which is saying this is why what we do is still very important because we're different from all this, but actually they're talking about a level of critical engagement between writing,

between text and image that is far removed from levels of critical engagement that you get with *ekphrastic* writing.

LZ: At a certain point the books are marketing themselves, and yes we are marketing ourselves as a publisher – the same way that Rosalind Krauss is marketing herself as an academic. It's not all that different. So in saying it's a glorified marketing tool sort of misses the point; we want to be seen as making the best art books in the world. Are we going to market ourselves that way – for sure; are we going to take on projects that do that – for sure; is that going to add to the Gallery's brand – sure. But doesn't Knopf do the same thing? Knopf wants to publish the best books in the world and you could say those novels are just marketing tools for Knopf. No, that's the content they decided to provide. So yes, it is part of how they market themselves, or is core, but it's not only because that's how they want to market themselves, it's what they do.

AM: When I've looked back, when I'm looking at Siegelau, when I'm looking at Jeanne Bucher, when I'm looking at Aimé Maeght and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, there's a level of passion and engagement with the publishing that they have that is different to a standard, large publishing house. It makes me feel that the gallerist may be best placed to publish books on art because they're operating from within the art market, they're not positioning themselves against it in some kind of way. I was wondering what the current and historic relationship has been between the activities of the gallery and the publishing house; you talked a little about how the year before you started is when there was a detachment between the publishing activities and the gallery practices. But David Zwirner always published books.

LZ: David Zwirner always published books. At first they would just say 'David Zwirner' on the spine, and they were again almost a way of marketing an exhibition: 'we did this; here's what we did', almost like historical marking. And then the moment we decided to publish you have to think about an audience, and that's what we begin with: 'how can this book have an audience' and if it's a thin exhibition pamphlet that only has a kind of shitty essay and a couple of reproductions from the show, nobody's going to want it. But if it's a big Ruth Asawa catalogue, the most comprehensive catalogue on this one artist you have to assume that anyone interested in her is going to want that book. And anyone interested in Alice Neel, or anyone interested in Hilton Als is going to want that book. And so I think we are really willing to think more and more about how to take exhibitions and make them excuses to create really substantial monographs when that is what's called upon. And when not, we try to do things at a much looser and smaller scale. We have this *ekphrasis* series, I'm doing a book on photography with Chris Ofili – I like making small scale books too that are also visual, and the visual component of the *ekphrasis* books is very important, you have this little plate section at the end. It's almost like, you flip through it - it's not immersive in the sense that a big catalogue is – but it serves a kind of fun function if you're engaging with the book. I didn't think about it explicitly in that way, but as I'm talking about it now – there's two poles: there's very expensive, big monographs, with are becoming more comprehensive, with more essays, richer, competing with museums, and then there's more and more of these cheap, loose, fun projects – zines, stuff like that – because audiences love that stuff. So in a way, that has been the biggest shift of becoming a publishing house, is to think 'how do we engage our audience' and 'how do these projects reach an audience as opposed to sitting in storage in our gallery?'.

AM: Is there a great deal of consultation between yourself and David Zwirner in terms of 'these are the shows that we're doing, this is what we're working on the books that' –

LZ: Absolutely. My father is very involved in a couple of aspects of the catalogues – he sees every one before it goes to print, and he's very involved in, and that's a wonderful thing, in the design of the covers. I think that's one thing that people underestimate, or don't realise, is that galleries are also well positioned to make books because they tend to be a little bit better visually than the average publisher. And so the whole game of the *ekphrasis* series was to find something that looked at once traditional, I like to kind of feel like we've seen it before but also had the ability through the colour to remain punchy, flashy, fun, and then I could smuggle some esoteric content into a book that actually looks like it's just going to be a fun read. And then most of the time you have people reading stuff that they would never in a million years read. And that's the most fun thing for me, if you have someone picking up Gauguin's last essay, which is something they would never in a million years read if it were published in MIT's collected life.

AM: I think the idea, as you said, of the aggressive translation – the Ramblings of a Wannabe Painter – is that someone could very easily pick up that book with very little awareness of the author, very little awareness of who Gauguin was and engage with it that way. It seems that in terms of when I've been looking at more contemporary gallerists, I think maybe only Iwan Wirth, at Hauser & Wirth, has the level of engagement that you're talking about.

LZ: I think we have the benefit also of somehow just happened to be the case that within this family business I became very excited and passionate about books – that's just luck in a way, that's luck of the draw. I mean, I do other things too at the Gallery, but I feel very strongly that the books need to be the best they can be and I think the astonishing thing has just been how receptive the response has been in general – it's just been universally positive, and I think impressed that the gallery has decided to invest in this way in itself. I think it's done quite a bit, not because we were trying to brand ourselves in it, but simply because it's made quite an impression somehow.

AM: There isn't a direct connection between the *ekphrasis* series (and the activities of David Zwirner books) and the artists you represent within the gallery – so that's seems to be another counter to this idea that all gallery publishing is self-serving in a way, because it's great to have people like John Richardson write an essay for the big Picasso show that you're going to have because he's the Picasso voice, but this is very different. This is a niche, not novelty, but maybe the reason it's been such a positive response is that you don't find this anywhere else. You wouldn't find this at a commercial gallery, you wouldn't find this at most other publishing houses.

LZ: When I started, I had no idea what I was doing, I just thought there's these books that I think I'm pretty sure if we went down this road we'd find some interesting stuff, and so far we've been lucky and we have found some interesting stuff.

AM: Can you say what's coming up?

LZ: I was just reading a book earlier today – I want to do a book on photography, there needs to be some book, there's a book I'm reading called *Toward a Philosophy of Photography*. It's been published in the UK so I have to figure the

rights out – it would fit well in the series. In the Fall we have a book by César Aira, a great Argentinian novelist who wrote a book called *On Contemporary Art*, and alongside that we have a very strange book by a Brooklyn based artist named Donald Shambroom, who has written a book called *Duchamp's Last Day*. It's about his last day on Earth. It's a kind of meditation or historical document, it's unclear exactly what it is.

AM: In terms of the original definitions of *ekphrasis*, the response to a visual art work, in terms of works like *Duchamp's Last Day* (it might be difficult for you to talk about this because it's not happened yet) but would it be a response to his last work or would it be more of a meditation on his –

LZ: What it's really a response to is actually this photograph that Man Ray took of Duchamp right after he died, minutes after he died. So it takes that photograph as a jumping off point and says 'how can we consider Duchamp's death and can we think about his death as its own kind of readymade?' If Man Ray was there ready to take the photo, and was captured in such a clear way, was there in fact a plan in place to turn this act into the ultimate art object. I think he comes down on the side of no at the end. This is the kind of book that no-one in the world would publish – it's by an artist that no-one has heard of. I think, the whole point about this series is it's not about expertise, it's not about academic – it could be about pedantry in the best sense of the word, attention to detail, but it's not just about 'academese' for the sake of 'academese'.

AM: I'm very passionate about writing clearly and concisely, cutting out jargon in a way that doesn't need to be – I think people assume that anything like this has to be dumbed down and I think that's a great disservice to a huge number of writers out there who are able to convey their ideas on very difficult concepts very clearly, without any degree of dumbing down.

LZ: The worst thing that happens when you open a book is to feel that you are not smart enough. You are 'uninvited' from the book. If there is one thing I want every book to say it's that 'you are invited.' The colour should invite you. The design should invite you. You should open it up and the prose should invite you. Even if it is complicated. Maybe it's not your topic and you close it, that's ok but nothing in there should make you feel like you don't 'get' it or it's not for you. And I think that's – we talked about democratisation – that's even more what it's about. It's about taking a rarefied language and thinking 'what are the fundamental ideas that drive this language?' What are the things that matter most to artists and people who think about art and how can we get them to be said in a way that everyone should be able to read, if they are curious? I can't make people curious, that's not my job. I can make something that if you are curious, you can find it, you'll find something in it. With the *ekphrasis* books it's not my expectation that someone picks it up and reads it cover to cover, it's more that someone picks it up and reads a caption or part of it, and if that happens then it's done its job in a way.

AM: There's just one thing, before we need to finish up: outside the *ekphrasis* series the collaboration between Raymond Pettibon and Marcel Dzama in 2016, can you talk a little bit about that? Is this a zine that became a show and then became a zine again; that was republished. This is something that I'm very interested in: the idea of publishing practice actually leading exhibition practice.

LZ: I'm very interest in that too, as you can imagine. Marcel and Ray were friends with one another and really wanted to do a zine together, so I brought them

together. They did this zine and the zine was compelling, so I said 'can you do a show'. And they did a show, and they did a second zine and a third zine and I think now they're going to do a show in Hong Kong, and that will be the next iteration of the project. But similarly, your point, in New York right now we have this Marlene Dumas show and that began with her illustrations of a Shakespeare poem, Venus and Adonis. And so, I'm not saying that shows will increasingly become dictated by publishing practice – that seems unlikely – but I think that we often overlook how important books are to artists, and how inspiring books are to artists. The more we enter a digital world, a world where everything is moving really quickly (which is all fine, I'm taking advantage of that world just like everyone else is) I think the book is the object or the idea of something that bears information, carries information will become inspiring. The Pissing Figures book is something we've kicking around at the Gallery as a show. It could become a show –

AM: That's another example of where the commercial interests of the gallery are perhaps a secondary concern to the idea of, first of all producing a hugely interesting book and secondly producing a hugely interesting show that would include works by many artists that historically are not represented by the gallery; there is no direct financial gain?

LZ: Galleries get a bad rap – basically I've only gotten good press for the publishing house, and it's mysterious to me because the gallery gets good press, it gets bad press. But the truth of the matter is it strictly has to do with money. It's the perception that if you're in the business of selling art, you're in the business of dealing with commodities and the goods people want, that is somehow ignoble. The reality of how it works at a gallery is there's a lot of people who care a lot about making the best possible show they can make, and if as a result a lot of that work sells to great collectors, should one be punished for that? It's sort of a strange thing. Also, I believe the separation of church and State – of museum and gallery - that's sort of over, people move back and forth between them. Even the auction houses put on good shows now and then.

AM: I think, for institutions to survive there would need to be an end to that 'Church and State' divide between museums and galleries

LZ: I think people need to start looking at what galleries are doing, and taking shows that galleries have, building on them, expanding on them. Otherwise, it's the same old and that is boring to people.

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